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# MID-AMERICA

## *An Historical Review*

OCTOBER 1945

VOLUME 27

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 16

NUMBER 4

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### CONTENTS

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI—

PRIMARY SOURCES

*Jean Delanglez*

ANTOINE LAUMET, ALIAS CADILLAC, COMMANDANT  
AT MICHILIMACKINAC: 1694-1697 (Concluded)

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NOTES AND COMMENT

INDEX

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## CONTENTS

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI . . . . .	
PRIMARY SOURCES . . . . .	<i>Jean Delanglez</i> 219
ANTOINE LAUMET, <i>alias</i> CADILLAC, COMMANDANT AT MICHILIMACKINAC: 1694-1697 (Concluded) . . . . .	<i>Jean Delanglez</i> 232
DOCUMENT: THE RELATION OF PHILIPP SEGESSER (Concluded) . . . . .	<i>T. E. Treutlein</i> 257
NOTES AND COMMENT . . . . .	261
INDEX . . . . .	269

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## The Discovery of the Mississippi Primary Sources

In preceding articles we analyzed two of the main sources for our knowledge of the voyage of 1673, namely, Dablon's account and Marquette's map.<sup>1</sup> In the present article we shall study three other primary sources; namely, (1) a passage in Frontenac's letter of November 14, 1674, wherein he notifies Colbert of the return of Jolliet; (2) a letter of Jolliet dated Quebec, October 10, 1674, to Bishop Laval; (3) Jolliet's letter to Frontenac inscribed as a dedicatory epistle on the map which he drew from memory after his return to Quebec.

I have noted elsewhere that there is no way of knowing whether this map was made shortly after his return at the end of July, or in the latter part of October. I also pointed out that one reason for believing that it was made in October was because Jolliet had learned by then that the map which he had left at Sault Ste Marie had perished there when the Jesuit house was burned down.<sup>2</sup> From the wording of the dedicatory letter it is clear that it was written after the map had been drawn. Whether the letter to Laval antedates the dedicatory letter to Frontenac or *vice versa* is immaterial. What is important is that these letters are the only two Jolliet documents pertaining to the voyage of 1673 which have come down to us, and both of them are copies of lost originals.

The remainder of the manuscript evidence—as distinguished from the cartographical sources—for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673, which comprises four contemporary documents, will be examined in a subsequent article.

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<sup>1</sup> "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 301-324; "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 30-53.

<sup>2</sup> "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years: 1674-1686," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 68.

Attention has already been called to the fact that it is necessary to make a minute analysis of the manuscript and cartographical documentation, because the journal of the expedition is lost.<sup>3</sup> By isolating the facts, by separating them from the dross under which they have been buried during a century of historical writing, we shall have an outline of the voyage from contemporary evidence stripped of the fanciful speculations of writers whose imagination got the better of their critical sense. Finally, this analysis will enable us in due time to ascertain the sources used by the author of the "Recit des voyages et des Descouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette."

### (1) Frontenac's Letter to Colbert

We begin with the letter of Frontenac to the minister although it is clearly of a later date than the two Jolliet letters, because it contains information supplied by the explorer to the governor shortly after his return.

On arriving at Quebec toward the end of July 1674, Jolliet told the story of his voyage down the Mississippi of the preceding year to Frontenac and to Dablon. He related the unfortunate accident that befell him in sight of Montreal, when he lost his journal, the map of the country which he had explored, everything else he had. We know that Dablon wrote down this story and sent it to France. Frontenac, however, was far too preoccupied with other matters to give much thought to a discovery which trebled the French empire in North America. The governor was then engaged in his quarrel with Perrot, the governor of Montreal, who had been guilty of an "extraordinary insult to one of my guards."<sup>4</sup> Besides, M. de Fénelon had "taken it into his head to preach on Easter Sunday in the church of Montreal a sermon injurious to me and conducive to sedition among the people."<sup>5</sup>

At the end of a forty-seven page letter in which the above quarrels are narrated at great length, Frontenac finally mentions Jolliet's return from his voyage.

When I arrived here from France, I was advised by M. Talon to send the Sieur Jolliet to discover the Sea of the South. He returned three months ago and has discovered admirable countries. The navigation over the beautiful rivers which he found is so easy that from Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, one could sail a ship to the Gulf of Mexico. There is only one

<sup>3</sup> "Marquette's Autograph Map," *ibid.*, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

unloading place—a portage of about half a league—where Lake Ontario falls into Lake Erie. We could have a settlement [on Lake Ontario] and build another ship on the Lake Erie side.

These projects could be carried out when peace is restored and when it pleases the king to exploit these discoveries.

He [Jolliet] went to within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico, and he believes that by way of the western tributaries of the great river which he found, which is as wide as the St. Lawrence before Quebec and which flows from north to south, there may be a water route to the Vermilion Sea or to the Sea of California.

I am sending by my secretary the map which he made as well as the noteworthy details which he was able to recall, for he lost all his memoirs and his journals in the shipwreck [which occurred] in sight of Montreal, after a voyage of 1,200 leagues. He nearly drowned and lost all his papers. A young Indian from these countries whom he was bringing to me was drowned, to my great regret.

He left with the [Jesuit] Fathers of Sault Ste Marie on Lake Superior copies of his journals, which we cannot have until next year. From them you will learn more particulars of this discovery which he accomplished very creditably.<sup>6</sup>

A recent writer asserts that not only Dablon "but also Governor Frontenac realized that the information obtained by Jolliet regarding the Mississippi River was of the highest importance."<sup>7</sup> This is hardly borne out by the letter from which we have just quoted. A further indication of Frontenac's lack of interest in the discovery may be gathered from the following. In his voluminous correspondence during the next eight years, the governor mentions the great river only once, and even this reference is incidental and indirect. There is hardly any doubt that the discovery of the great river and the route to the Gulf made little impression on Frontenac, precisely because he did not realize that the information communicated to him by Jolliet "was of the highest importance."

As can be seen, the governor's secretary who wrote this letter was not quite clear with regard to the geography of the Great Lakes, for he makes the St. Lawrence flow from east to west. The same secretary was also confused with regard to the portage. He gives as the length of the portage at Niagara Falls, which Jolliet never saw, the length of the Chicago portage, which is half a league.<sup>8</sup>

The distance between Jolliet's terminal point and the Gulf of Mexico—given as ten days' journey—is different from Jolliet's letter

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77.

<sup>7</sup> F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 182.

<sup>8</sup> "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 322.

to Laval, where he says that when he decided to return he was five days' journey from the sea. He wrote to Laval what he had already said to Dablon, that latitude  $33^{\circ}$  was the lowest point reached. If he told Dablon that he was then five days' journey from the sea, the Jesuit disregarded it. For all Dablon knew, the latitude of the north shore of the Gulf where the Mississippi disembogued was  $31^{\circ}$ , as all the maps of the time showed; hence he figured that the explorers were fifty leagues from the Gulf.<sup>9</sup> The fact is that at the Arkansas village they were still more than 700 miles from the Gulf, and that at the rate they traveled since they began the descent of the Mississippi (an average of 55 miles a day), it would have taken nearly two weeks to reach the mouth. However, neither Jolliet nor Dablon nor anybody else, least of all Frontenac's secretary, knew the distance along the Mississippi from the Arkansas River to the Gulf.

A water route to the Vermilion Sea mentioned by Frontenac's secretary as a means of going to Japan and China, was an obsession in New France during the seventeenth century and until late in the eighteenth. It should be noted that Dablon entitled his account of the voyage of 1673, "*Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud*," although he knew then that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific Ocean, the *Mar del Zur* of contemporary maps.

The passage of Frontenac's letter wherein reference is made to copies of Jolliet's journals left at Sault Ste Marie has been commented on as follows: "This statement contradicts what Dablon wrote on August 1 and Jolliet copied on October 10; namely, that Marquette was keeping copies of the journal that has been lost."<sup>10</sup> No such contradiction is present. First of all, Dablon wrote, "Father Marquette has kept a copy of the lost relation," that is, of the journal as he calls it in the next paragraph. Secondly, Jolliet did not copy the Dablon narrative on October 10. This date is the date of Jolliet's letter to Laval, and the copy of Dablon's narrative referred to was not made by Jolliet, but by some unknown scribe in Paris. Thirdly, even if these two assertions were true, there would be no contradiction, for Marquette could have had copies of the journal, and Jolliet could have made several other copies during the winter of 1673-1674, which he spent at Sault Ste Marie. Finally, the reference to "journals" is an interpretation of the governor's secretary. Jolliet did not lose several "journals" when his canoe capsized. He made

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 319, 321. The terminus of the expedition is discussed in "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 41-44.

<sup>10</sup> Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 187, note 152.

mention of only one journal to Dablon, and in the dedicatory letter on his map as well as in his letter to Laval, he says explicitly "mon journal."

## (2) The Letter to Laval

Elsewhere, we have discussed this copy of Jolliet's letter to Laval, noting the variants between the extant manuscript and Harrisse's reproduction of it.<sup>11</sup> These variants in Harrisse's text are changes in capitalization, accentuation, spelling, and paragraphing; also "three words in a line of four are omitted, and one word is substituted for another." The sentence in which these variants occur reads as follows: "ils ne manquent point [*pas* in Harrisse] de fruits, comme prunes [*pommes, marons, grenades*, the three missing words] ananas, mures semblables a celles de france."

Jolliet begins his letter by saying that it is not long since his return from his voyage to the Sea of the South. We have previously shown that he reached Quebec in the second half of July 1674;<sup>12</sup> hence two and a half months had elapsed before he wrote this letter. We have seen from Frontenac's letter, written a month later, that the explorer had been in Quebec three months by November 14. The reason why Jolliet says that he had returned from his voyage to the "Sea of the South" is because Talon had commissioned him to find this sea.<sup>13</sup> He knew of course that the Mississippi did not empty into the Gulf of California, but he hoped that the Pacific Ocean could be reached by way of one of the tributaries of the great river.

Jolliet then tells the bishop of the accident near Montreal, but gives more details than those in Frontenac's letter with regard to the young Indian who was drowned: "I am very sorry [over the loss] of a young slave, ten years old, who had been given to me. He was endowed with a good disposition, very intelligent, diligent and obedient. He could make himself understood in French, and was

<sup>11</sup> "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 309-312.

<sup>12</sup> "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," *supra*, 24.

<sup>13</sup> This is clear from Frontenac's letter to Colbert of November 2, 1672: "Il [Talon] a aussi jugé expédient pour le service d'envoyer le Sr Joliet à la découverte de la mer du Sud, par le pays des Mashoutins, et la grande rivière qu'ils appellent Michissipi qu'on croit se décharger dans la mer de Californie." RAPQ, 1927, 18. In the introductory paragraph of his "Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud," Dablon makes it appear as though finding the mouth of the Mississippi was the primary objective of the expedition, "sur tout de savoir dans quelle mer [the Mississippi] s'alloit decharger." Farther in the same relation Dablon himself makes it quite clear that a waterway to the Pacific Ocean is "ce que l'on cherche."



beginning to read and write."<sup>14</sup> He speaks of his own miraculous rescue through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. At latitude 33° he decided to return for fear of falling into the hands of Europeans. There are no portages or rapids on the river which he descended; it is as wide as the St. Lawrence at Sillery<sup>15</sup> and its waters empty into the Gulf of Mexico. This last item was a conclusion based on the latitude reached and on the geography of the continent as portrayed on contemporary maps.

It will be well to make a comparison here between a passage in Dablon's narrative and its counterpart in Jolliet's letter to Laval.

*Dablon's Narrative*

Nos voyageurs content [*i. e.*, comptèrent] plus de 40 bourgades, dont la plupart sont composées de 60 et 80 cabanes quelques unes de 300, comme celle des Illinois qui a plus de huit mille ames.

*Letter to Laval*

J'ay eu connoissance sur notre route de plus de 80 villages de sauvages chacun de 60 et 100 cabannes, Je n'en ay ueu qu'une de 300 ou nous estimions quil y auoit bien dix milles ames.

The discrepancy in the number of villages (80 in one, 40 in the other) is either a mistake of the copyist of the Laval letter or the larger figure represents the number of huts indicating the Indian villages on Jolliet's map. On the copy of this map there are 31 names of Indian tribes in the Mississippi Valley. In one instance 26 huts designate a single village; elsewhere on the map each hut represents a separate village. Thus there are 4 Akansa villages, 3 Sa8iatanon, 15 Cha8anon, 18 Mataholi, 20 Taensa; and one hut is left nameless. The total number is 87; and hence Jolliet could truly write to Laval that "he had heard of more than 80 villages during his journey."

The discrepancy between the number of huts in each village (60 and 80 as against 60 and 100) is attributable to the copyist, who first wrote 80, then corrected the figure by inserting "1" before 80

<sup>14</sup> We simply do not know who taught French to this Indian. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 135, surmised that it was Father Druillettes; Father Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 181, note 130, that it was Jolliet himself and Marquette. The reason why the latter rejects Gagnon's surmise is invalid for it is practically certain that Jolliet "spent the time between his return from the south and his departure for Quebec . . . at Sault Sainte-Marie."

<sup>15</sup> The St. Lawrence is 1650 feet wide before Sillery, nearly half its width, 3150 feet, before Quebec, as is said in Frontenac's letter. The latter measurement coincides with what Jolliet told Dablon, namely, that the Mississippi "a pour l'ordinaire un quart de lieüe de large," about 0.6 mile.

and rounding the "8" into an "0." If the change in the number of "souls" in the Illinois village is not also an improvement of the copyist, it simply means that Jolliet improved his story with the telling.

A last remark concerns the size of the buffalo herds which the explorers saw. Dablon wrote: "le Pere en a conté jusques a 400. dans une seule bande." Jolliet said to Laval: "J'en ay ueu et compté Jusques a 400 ensemble dans une prairie." These two statements are neither particularly disturbing nor contradictory. Jolliet may well have told Dablon that Marquette counted 400 buffaloes and that he too counted 400 in one herd; when he wrote to Laval, it was only natural that he should speak of counting them himself. If other members of the expedition had written about it, they, too, could have said that they counted 400 in one herd; Jolliet was not the only man of the expedition who could count up to that number.

### (3) The Dedicatory Letter

The importance of this letter for our knowledge of the voyage of 1673 comes from the fact that it was originally inscribed on the map which Jolliet drew from memory between August and November 1674. The letter, however, is secondary to the map itself; for as will be seen, it contains little which is not in Dablon's narrative, in Frontenac's letter to Colbert, or in Jolliet's letter to Laval.

Several facsimile or photographic reproductions of the map with the letter have appeared during the past sixty years;<sup>16</sup> there are also facsimiles, as well as many transcriptions and English translations, of the letter alone. Yet there is no critical edition showing how the three extant copies of the letter differ from one another, because it was not recognized that they are copies of a lost original. Some writers believed that the three exemplars were written by Jolliet himself; others, while conceding that the oldest of the three versions was not inscribed on the map by Jolliet himself, assert that at least one of the other two is in his own handwriting. As a matter of fact, none is in Jolliet's handwriting, and all three were written by different men.

The handwriting of the oldest copy has not been identified; hence we shall refer to its author as the anonymous copyist. The second copy appears on the so-called "Jolliet larger map," the author of

<sup>16</sup> The latest and most satisfactory reproduction is in S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, p. IV.



which is very probably Franquelin.<sup>17</sup> The third copy is inscribed on Bernou's reduction of this Franquelin map. Bernou's reduction is often erroneously referred to as "Jolliet's smaller map"; but the handwriting is unmistakably Bernou's own.

Since it is clear that Bernou had before him the above mentioned Franquelin map, the three copies of the dedicatory letter are simply two different reproductions of the same original, the anonymous author transcribing it as Jolliet wrote it, while Franquelin introduced changes which Bernou copied. For this reason we have used the anonymous copy as the basic text in our critical edition of the letter.

The text here printed is as exact a reproduction of the text on the anonymous map as can be given in ordinary type. In the critical apparatus no account has been taken of different spellings, punctuation, paragraphing, or capitalization of the other two copyists; nor have we indicated which of the words abbreviated by the anonymous copyist were written in full by Franquelin and Bernou. Words added by Franquelin have been inserted in parentheses ( ), and his omissions are also indicated in parentheses with words omitted italicized. Brackets [ ] instead of parentheses indicate the Bernou variants, italics being used to indicate omissions. In the case of substitutions, the original reading and the substitution are both given, in parentheses or in brackets or in both as the case may be; and each substitution immediately follows the corresponding reading of the text of the anonymous copyist.

#### A Monseigneur

Le Comte de Frontenac Cons<sup>r</sup> du Roy en ses conseils,  
Gouuern<sup>r</sup>, et Lieutenant gñal po<sup>r</sup> Sa Maj<sup>te</sup> en Canada([s])  
Acadie Isle ([de]) Terre neufue & aües pays de la  
([nouuelle France]) ([France Septentrionale])

#### Monseigneur

Cest avec bien de la ioye que iay ([le bonheur  
aujourd'hui]) de vo<sup>s</sup> presenter cette carte qui vous  
fera cog<sup>re</sup> La situaõn des riuieres et des lacs sur  
les quels on nauige au trauers du canada([s]) ou  
ameriq<sup>s</sup> septentrionale qui a plus de 1200 lieües de  
L'Est a Louest.

Cette grande Riuiere [*au dela des lacs Huron et  
Illinois*] qui porte ([uñe]) ([le]) nom ([scau]) (de

<sup>17</sup> "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1934, 54-55.

la) [de] Riu. ([Buade]) ([Colbert]) po<sup>r</sup> auoir este decou<sup>erte</sup> ces [années dernières] [dernières années] 1673 et 1674 par les 1<sup>ers</sup> ordres que vo<sup>s</sup> me donnastes entrant dans ure gouuernem<sup>t</sup> de la nouuelle france passe [au dela des lacs hurons et Illinois] entre La Floride et le Mexiq<sup>s</sup>, et po<sup>r</sup> se descharger dans la mer coupe le plus beau pays qui se puisse voir ([sur la terre]) Je n'ay rien veu de [plus] beau dans La france cōe La quantité des prairies que iy ay admire([es tous les iours]) n'y rien d'aggreable cōe La diuersité des bocages et des forests ou se cueillent des prunes, ([des]) pommes ([des]) grenades ([des]) citrons, ([des]) meures, et plus<sup>rs</sup> petits fruicts qui ne sont point en Europe, dans Les champs on fait Leuer Les cailles, dans les bois on ([y]) uoit ([voler]) les perroquets, dans les riuieres on prend des poissons qui no<sup>s</sup> sont inconnus po Le([ur]) goust figure et grosseur.

Les mines de fer, ([et]) les pierres sanguines qui ne s'amassent iamais que parmy le cuiure rouge n'y sont pas rares, non plus que L'ardoise, le salpêtre, [le charbon de terres, marb(r)e, et moulanges] [les marbres, moulanges, et charbon de terre] po<sup>r</sup> du cuiure Le([s]) plus [gros] [grand] morceau([x]) que iay ueu etoit [gros] cōe le point, et tres purifié, il fut decouuert aupres des pierres sanguines qui sont beaucoup ([meilleures]) que celle([s]) de france et en q<sup>ttie</sup>.

Tous les sauuages ont des canots de bois de 50 pieds de long [et (de) plus] po<sup>r</sup> nourriture ils ne font (point) (pas) ([d'])estat des cerfs ils tüent des bufles qui marchent par bande[s] de [30] [40] et 50, ([mesme]) Jen ay ([mesme]) compté jusqua 400 sur le([s]) bord([s]) de la Riuere et les coqs d'inde(s) y sont si communs qu'on n'en ([fait]) pas grand cas.

Ils font ([du]) ([des]) bled([s]) dInde(s) La plus part trois fois l'année et tous ([les]) ([des]) melons d'eau po<sup>r</sup> se rafraischir [dans] [pendant] les chaleurs qui ([ne]) ([ny]) permettent point de glace([s]) et fort peu de ne([i])ge([s]).

Par une de ces grandes riuieres qui viennent de L'Ouest et se decharge([nt]) dans la Riu. ([Buade]) ([Colbert]) on trouuera passage po<sup>r</sup> entrer dans La mer vermeille,

Jay ueu un village qui n'estoit qu'a ([cinq]) (vingt)  
 [20] iournée([s par terre]) d'une nation qui a comerce  
 avec ceux de la Califo([u])rnie si J'([y])estois arriué  
 ([deux]) ([2]) iours plustost iauois parlé a ceux qui  
 en estoient venus et auoient apporté 4 haches pour present.<sup>18</sup>

On auroit veu La description de tout dans mon  
 iournal si le bonh<sup>r</sup> qui m'auoit tousiou<sup>r</sup>, accompagné dans  
 ce voiage ne m'eust manqué un quart d'heure deuant que  
 d'arriuer au Lieu d'ou i'estois partis, iauois euité  
 ([tous]) Les dangers des Sauuages, iauois passé 42 rapides  
 ([et]) iestois prest de débarquer avec (*toute*) la ioye  
 qu'on pouuoit auoir du succes d'une si longue et [si]  
 difficile entreprise Lorsque mon canot tourna hors des  
 dangers [ou Je] [Jy] perdis 2 hōes, et ma cassette a la  
 veüe [*et a la porte*] des premieres [maisons] [habitations]  
 francoises que iauois quitté([es]) il y auoit presq<sup>s</sup> deux  
 ans, Il ne me reste que La vie et la volonté po<sup>r</sup> L'Employer  
 a tout ce ([qui]) ([qu'il]) vous plaira ([avec toute la  
 Joye possible])

Monseigneur

Vostre tres humble et  
 tres obeissant seruiteur  
 ([*et suiet*])

Jol([1])iet.

Before comparing the geographical information contained in the letter with what we learn from the other documents, a few observations are in order. Although the anonymous copyist made no deliberate change in Jolliet's original text, he was very careless. Thus in the first line he omitted three words (le bonheur aujourd'hui) which are found in Franquelin's copy and were certainly in Jolliet's letter, for they are necessary to make sense. The two omissions in the second paragraph (sur la terre, tous les iours) make more complete sense although they are not absolutely necessary. In this same paragraph, the omission of the combined *de* and article before each kind of fruit mentioned except the first kind, is not what an ordinarily educated Frenchman would do. Why the five words (avec toute la Joye possible) were left out before the clausula is difficult to say; on the other hand, it is fairly certain that the two words "et suiet" before the signature were in Jolliet's original. The latter

<sup>18</sup> This paragraph is inserted as a descriptive legend in Franquelin's and in Bernou's map just below the Illinois River.

uses these words in the dedication of another map to La Barre, Frontenac's successor as governor of New France.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the copyist misspelled Jolliet's name, which in every genuine signature is always written with two "l's"<sup>20</sup> and was correctly copied by Franquelin.

But though Franquelin was more careful than the anonymous author in copying the dedicatory letter, he changed or was told to change the name "Buade" given to the Mississippi by its discoverer. This name occurs twice in Jolliet's original, first in the second paragraph of the letter and again in a paragraph which the mapmaker took out and inserted as a descriptive legend in the map itself just below the Illinois River. In the second paragraph Franquelin's change from "Riuiere Buade" to "Riuiere Colbert" does not make sense. Jolliet makes it quite clear that he christened the Mississippi "Riuiere Buade," Frontenac's patronymic, because it was discovered in consequence of one of the first administrative orders of the governor shortly after his coming to Quebec in 1672.

Since we see that Franquelin was more careful in copying the dedicatory letter than the anonymous author, we are virtually certain that the spelling and syntax of this text is substantially Jolliet's own. Although he had received the best education available in New France, there are in his writings what one might call "colonialisms" which would pass muster in Quebec, but not in Paris. Jolliet wrote French well, but Bernou, who copied the letter from the Franquelin map, wrote French better. Besides the use of less precise prepositions and redundant adverbs of place, a common colonialism in seventeenth century Canada is the loose use of relative clauses, which is apt in some contexts to make a sentence ambiguous. An educated Frenchman of the seventeenth century, like Bernou writing in Paris, would mechanically make the sentence less equivocal by bringing the relative clause nearer to its antecedent or by repeating the noun when the pronoun would be vague in reference.

This last observation with regard to relative pronouns is illustrated in the title of Franquelin's map: "Carte de la descouuerte du Sr Jolliet . . . et par une mesme nauigation a celuy des Illinois au bout duquel on va joindre la Riuiere diuine par un portage de Mille pas *qui* tombe dans la Riuiere Colbert et se descharge dans le sein Mexique." Bernou's copy reads: ". . . par un portage de milles pas: *cette riuiere tombe.*" Since the relative pronoun *qui* might refer to the "portage de mille pas," Bernou repeated the noun with

<sup>19</sup> "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 241, note 82.

<sup>20</sup> "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 3.

the demonstrative adjective *cette rivière*. Another example of Bernou's editing is found in the second paragraph, where he transposed the words "au dela des lacs Huron et Illinois" to the end of the sentence. It is obvious that this adverbial expression makes better sense immediately after the verb than at the beginning of the sentence where Jolliet originally had it.

We have already said that the geographical information contained in this letter is found in the other documents analyzed previously.

What Jolliet means by the east-west width of North America—1,200 leagues, nearly 3,300 miles—is not clear. The east-west distance from Quebec to Prairie du Chien along the route which he followed is roughly 1,500 miles, less than one half the distance in his letter. Frontenac's secretary wrote that Jolliet's canoe capsized after a voyage of 1,200 leagues. We do not know whether this is meant to give the total distance travelled or the distance between Quebec and the southernmost point reached by the expedition. In the latter case the actual distance is still 800 miles short of the given figure; while the round trip from Quebec to the Arkansas village and back to Montreal by the route which Jolliet followed is 4,700 miles.

The statement that the Mississippi is located between Florida and Mexico is also found in Jolliet's letter to Laval. That the mouth of the river must be in the Gulf of Mexico is clear from Dablon's account.

The route to the Vermilion Sea is explicitly mentioned in Frontenac's letter to Colbert and in Dablon's narrative. In his dedicatory letter, however, Jolliet is more emphatic than the governor and the Jesuit in saying that the Vermilion Sea could be reached by ascending one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi.

It is impossible to identify the village visited by Jolliet from which Indians of a western village who traded with California Indians had departed two days before his arrival, after having brought a present of four hatchets.<sup>21</sup> As can be seen from the above critical text of the letter, Franquelin's copy—and of course that of Bernou—gives twenty days' journey instead of five as the distance between this village and that of the western Indians. From the wording of this sentence it seems that the anonymous copyist reproduced the original correctly: "a village which was *only* five days' journey distant."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *ibid.*, 46-47.



The last item of geographical information concerns the route which Jolliet followed on his return. When, in sight of Montreal, he met with the accident in which he lost all his papers, "iauois passé 42 rapides." Dablon, who had his information from the explorer, wrote that the accident took place at Sault St. Louis near Montreal "apres en [*i. e.*, saults or rapids] auoir franchy plus de 40." From Sault Ste Marie to Montreal the only route with so many rapids is the common route taken by Indians and traders: through the North Channel to Georgian Bay, up the French River to Lake Nipissing, and then down the Ottawa River to Montreal. Incidentally, this information disposes of the opinion that Jolliet passed through Fort Frontenac on his journey and supposedly met La Salle there.

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## Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac

### Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697

(Concluded)

#### III

At about the time when Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that the Indians complained of the low price paid for pelts, a measure was being passed in Paris which purported to effect radical changes in the economic life of New France. The measure was the royal declaration of May 21, 1696, which abolished all *congés*, ordered the withdrawal of the garrison from the western posts and the return of the French to Lower Canada, and forbade all trade in the woods. Henceforth the Indians would have to bring their pelts to Montreal and sell them to the French there. How this royal declaration came to be issued will now be told.

A memoir written in February 1705 explains at length the origin of *congés* and the emergence of the *coureurs de bois*.<sup>1</sup> All the evils of Canada, wrote the memorialist, spring from the beaver pelt monopoly, or as he says in the title of his paper, from "the assembling of the beaver pelts in the same hand." After the West Indies Company had allowed the settlers of Canada to trade in beaver pelts on payment of 25 per cent. in kind, so many pelts were brought to the warehouses of the Company in Quebec that the price of felt hats, the only industry which used the pelts, fell 50 per cent. A further drop in the price of hats led to the creation of a monopoly. In 1674, the West Indies Company which controlled this monopoly found the privilege too onerous, and in May of that year the king attached to his own demesne all the rights of the companies which had thus far exploited Canada. A new *ferme* was established and was called *Domaine d'Occident*. At a meeting of the agent of the *fermiers* or contractors with the representative of the people of Canada, it was decided that all the beaver pelts would be brought to the warehouses of Quebec, that a fixed price would be paid for the furs according to their quality, and that the agent would buy the pelts with bills of exchange payable in France. Since the contractors had to take all the pelts, good and bad, that were brought to them, the hunters were sure of finding a market for their spoils;

<sup>1</sup> Mémoire historique à Monseigneur le Comte de Pontchartrain sur les Mauvais Effets de la Reunion des Castors dans une mesme main, AC, C 11A, 22:356-376.



and all those who could do so went to the woods to catch beavers. As the beaver "frontier" receded, bolder and more adventurous men were needed. These were the *coureurs de bois* who were hired by the merchants to go to the distant villages of the interior and buy furs gathered by the Indians.

At the beginning all that was needed to go or to send hired men to the Indian villages was the leave of the governor, but before long the number of *coureurs de bois* increased out of all proportion to the population of Canada. Because of the complicity of the merchants and of officialdom, the repeated orders of the king to rid the colony of these adventurers were not carried out.<sup>2</sup> In 1680, Duchesneau recommended to the minister a general amnesty for the *coureurs de bois*, and a severe punishment for those who did not take advantage of it.<sup>3</sup> Louis XIV granted such an amnesty in May 1681,<sup>4</sup> and at the same time renewed the prohibition against fetching pelts from the Indian villages.<sup>5</sup> The Indians themselves had to come to Montreal and dispose of their pelts there. The king, however, empowered the governor to grant twenty-five *congés* each year to poor families; he ruled that each *congé* must be visaed by the intendant, and that no one could be given a *congé* two years in succession.<sup>6</sup>

In his letter thanking the king for the amnesty and the twenty-five annual *congés*, Frontenac said that now it would be possible to restore order and that the allowed number of trade permits would be distributed in the following spring.<sup>7</sup> Frontenac was recalled in the following year. Great abuses in the distribution of *congés* occurred during the governorship of La Barre.<sup>8</sup> His successor, Denonville, took energetic measures against the *coureurs de bois*,<sup>9</sup> but by

<sup>2</sup> Duchesneau to Colbert, November 10, 1679, AC, C 11A, 45:38-46; *id.*, to Seignelay, November 13, 1681, *ibid.*, 290.

<sup>3</sup> Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1680, NYCD, IX, 140.

<sup>4</sup> Amnestie pour les coureurs de bois de la Nouvelle France, *Edits, ordonnances royales*, I, 249-250; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 655.

<sup>5</sup> Edit du Roi qui défend d'aller à la traite des pelleteries dans la profondeur des bois et les habitations des sauvages, *Edits, ordonnances royales*, I, 248-259; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 652. Cf. the ordinances of June 13, 1673, and of April 15, 1676, in *Edits, ordonnances royales*, I, 73, 86.

<sup>6</sup> The text of the ordinance is in AC, F 3, 6:10. Cf. Louis XIV to Frontenac, April 30, 1681, AC, C 11A, 5:356-356v; to Duchesneau, April 30, 1681, AC, B 8:80-81v.

<sup>7</sup> Frontenac to Louis XIV, November 13, 1681, RAPQ, 1927, 126.

<sup>8</sup> Louis XIV to La Barre, July 31, 1684, NYCD, IX, 233; April 10, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:248v; Seignelay to La Barre, April 10, 1684, *ibid.*, 243. But see La Barre's answer, November 13, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:347-347v.

<sup>9</sup> Reglement . . . sur le fait des traites . . . , January 1686, AC, F 3, 6:243-245.

1686, ranging the woods had become too much a part of life in New France to be eradicated by edicts, decrees, ordinances or proclamations. Seven years after the amnesty of 1681, Denonville wrote that the number of *coureurs de bois* was increasing every day.<sup>10</sup>

The king's purpose in allowing twenty-five *congés* annually was to help poor families, but as Lahontan, who was in the West and in Lower Canada from 1683 to 1692, observed,

God knows how many more have private Licenses . . . Each License extends to the lading of two great Canows;<sup>11</sup> and whoever procures a whole or a half License for himself, may either make use of it itself, or sell it to the highest Bidder. Commonly they are bought at six hundred Crowns a-piece. Those who purchase 'em are at no trouble in finding Pedlars or Forest Rangers to undertake the long Voyages, which fetch the most considerable Gains, and commonly extend to a Year, and sometimes more. The Merchants put into the two Canows stipulated in the License, six Men with a thousand Crowns-worth of Goods, which are rated to the Pedlars at fifteen *per Cent.* more than what they are sold for in ready Money in the Colony. When the Voyage is perform'd, this Sum of a thousand Crowns commonly brings in seven hundred *per Cent.* clear profit, and sometimes more, sometimes less; for these Sparks call'd *Coureurs de Bois* bite the Savages most dexterously and the lading of two Canows, computed at a thousand Crowns, is a purchase for as many Beaver-skins as will load four Canows . . .<sup>12</sup>

We have already noted that after his return to Canada in 1689, Frontenac found a way of distributing more than the twenty-five annual *congés*.<sup>13</sup> This method consisted in sending "orders" to the western posts, the bearers of which orders were allowed to load their canoes with merchandise to defray the expenses of the journey. Between 1689 and 1693, however, because of the danger of falling into the hands of the Iroquois, few canoe loads were brought from the West, the region which supplied three-fourths of the furs. During these years pelts accumulated at Michilimackinac, but in 1693, two hundred canoes arrived in Montreal "freighted with a prodigious quantity of peltries." There was, wrote an annalist, "gaiety in the hearts" of the colonists;<sup>14</sup> Cadillac adds that the whole colony "shed tears of joy."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Memoir of Denonville, August 10, 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:66-66v. See also his report of January 1690, NYCD, IX, 442-443.

<sup>11</sup> The ordinance of May 2, 1681, AC, F 3, 6:10, allowed the holder to a trade permit to load one canoe. See also Champigny's annotations to Frontenac's ordinance of April 8, 1690, *ibid.*, 367v.

<sup>12</sup> Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, I, 99-100.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, 126.

<sup>14</sup> Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1692-1693, NYCD, IX, 569. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 185.

<sup>15</sup> Cadillac's memoir of 1694, NYCD, IX, 585.

When the contractors in France heard about the prodigious quantity of peltries that had come from the West, there was little "gaiety in their hearts," and their tears, if any, were not tears of joy. They complained to the king, who then sent his first warning to Frontenac and Champigny. If, said Louis XIV, orders must be sent to the West, let them be entrusted to those who have regular *congés*; and, he added, if the contractors continue to lose money in proportion to the increase of the quantity of pelts, he would have to cancel their contract.<sup>16</sup>

Frontenac sent prolix explanations to the minister,<sup>17</sup> while Champigny in a long memoir argued with the contractors.<sup>18</sup> The latter answered the intendant point by point, blaming the Canadian officials for the "excessive increase of the beaver trade and for the bad quality of the pelts" accepted in Quebec. The market, they said, was very limited, for the pelts could only be used by hatters. As they could not export the surplus, they had to choose between keeping the furs in the warehouses or selling them at a loss. They suggested means of lessening their losses until the war in Europe was over, thereafter they intended to cancel their contract.<sup>19</sup>

Throughout 1695 expedients were devised in New France to forestall the outcome of the complaints of the contractors in France.<sup>20</sup> The latter, in a memoir dated 1696, reviewed the development of the beaver trade in Canada and enumerated the various causes that had left such an enormous quantity of pelts in their hands.<sup>21</sup> This memoir had already been written when news reached Paris that another huge cargo of pelts had arrived in Montreal from the West.<sup>22</sup> Thereupon the contractors sent another memorandum to the king in which they proposed the only effective measure that could save them from utter ruin, namely, "to forbid all trading in the woods under severe penalties, even death, and to forbid the governor and the intendant to grant any *congés* whatsoever, under penalty of recall."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 8, 1694, AC, B 17:75-84v.

<sup>17</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1694, RAPQ, 1928, 187.

<sup>18</sup> Mémoire pour le Castor, October 26, 1694, AC, C 11A, 13:198-199.

<sup>19</sup> Sur le Mémoire de M. de Champigny concernant le Castor, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:200-201, 202-203.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 6, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:354-354v; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1695, RAPQ, 1929, 290.

<sup>21</sup> Commerce du Castor de Canada, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:255-262.

<sup>22</sup> Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:385-385v.

<sup>23</sup> Mémoire sur le Commerce des Castors, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:275-275v.

On April 4, 1696, Pontchartrain sent a short express note to Frontenac saying that he had been ordered by the king to tell the governor to grant no *congés* and to accept no pelts whatsoever until the arrival of the ships bringing the orders of the king. His Majesty, said the minister, "has ordered me to make it quite clear that you will be held personally responsible for any violation of his intentions."<sup>24</sup>

The contractors had evidently carried the day. The first memoir of 1696 mentioned above was used as a basis for drafting a declaration which the king signed on May 21, 1696. After a brief outline of the reasons which led the king to allow the granting of the twenty-five annual *congés*, the declaration reads as follows:

We have been informed that under various pretexts more [than twenty-five] *congés* have been granted under the name of permits [Frontenac's orders]. In consequence thereof, the contractors have been overburdened with pelts of all kinds which they cannot sell, with the result of a fall in price and the closing of the [hat] factories in the kingdom. Furthermore, in order to get beaver pelts, the grantees of these permissions and *congés* went to the depths of the woods and to the most distant regions of North America where they have given free rein to their licentiousness and debauchery, and have been the cause of all kinds of disorders and crimes. Because these men accepted pelts of all kinds, the Indians have neglected to cure them properly. The inhabitants have neglected to till the soil, to develop fisheries or to engage in other suitable gainful employments; the beaver trade has prevented people from settling within the limits of the colony; it has jeopardized the profits of the [French] merchants, and has made imminent the ruin of the colony unless a prompt remedy be applied.

For these reasons, having sought the advice of our Council, with certain knowledge, We, in virtue of the fullness of our power and royal authority, have by these presents abolished and do absolutely abolish all *congés* and permissions to go trading among the Indians; and We declare null and void all *congés* which have been and will be given to that effect. We hereby have invalidated and do invalidate articles 351 and 352 of the contract of May 18, 1687, and all orders and acts conformable to the same. In consequence, We expressly inhibit and forbid all persons of whatever quality and condition, from the day of registration of the present declaration, under any pretext to go trading in the interior, on penalty of being sent to the galleys. Under the same penalty We order all Frenchmen who reside among the Indians or who have gone to their villages, to depart from the same within a period to be specified by the Sieur de Frontenac . . . together with the Sieur de Champigny . . . . Wishing, however, to maintain such a beaver market as is necessary for consumption and trade within the kingdom, and in order that both the Indians and the merchants may profit from this trade by furnishing pelts of good quality, We command that henceforth no pelts

<sup>24</sup> Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 4, 1694, RAPQ, 1929, 298.

be received except in public places of the colony where they are to be brought by the Indians as was done before the said *congés* were issued.<sup>25</sup>

Five days after the date of the above declaration, the king sent a long memorial to Frontenac and Champigny. After reviewing the reasons why the *congés* were abolished, he commented at length on their dispatches of the preceding November dealing with the defection of the western tribes.<sup>26</sup> He had asked the members of the Council of State, he said, to examine anew what Frontenac and Champigny had written concerning the peace negotiations between the Hurons, the Ottawa, and the Iroquois; persons who knew the state of affairs in Canada had also been consulted and had declared that the western Indians, in spite of all that had been done for them, could not be depended upon, and that owing to the remoteness of their villages, the royal treasury could not bear the expense necessary to keep in touch with them. His Majesty therefore has "resolved to abandon Michilimackinac as well as the other posts of the interior, with the exception of Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country." In this manner it will be possible to keep the colonists together in Lower Canada, where they will be able to defend the colony more effectively. The permanent abolition of trade in the depths of the woods will force the Indians to bring their pelts to Montreal, and the inhabitants and the merchants will share the profits of the trade, which until now have been monopolized by the *coureurs de bois* to the detriment of the colony as a whole. At the end of his letter, the king commanded Frontenac and Champigny to order the return of all the French from the posts. No trade goods whatever were to be brought to the interior, except such merchandise as was necessary for the subsistence of those who were engaged in bringing back the pelts acquired before the publication of the declaration abolishing all *congés*.<sup>27</sup>

This royal declaration caused consternation among the small group who had thus far profited by the *congés*, especially among the protégés of the governor to whom the majority of trade-permits were given or sold. Frontenac had come to look upon the *congés*

<sup>25</sup> Declaration du Roy Portant suppression des 25 congés et defences d'aller en traite aux Staoiliacs apeine des Galères, AC, B 19:118-121, printed in *Collection de Manuscrits... relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, II, 219-221.

<sup>26</sup> *Supra*, 199-200, 204.

<sup>27</sup> Mémoire du Roi pour le gouverneur de Frontenac et l'intendant Bochart de Champigny, May 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 301-307. Cf. Pontchartrain to Frontenac, *ibid.*, 299-300; to Champigny, AC, B 19:103v-104v.



as "his patrimony";<sup>28</sup> they were "post offices" with which he rewarded his followers. The measure also caused dismay "among those whose private interests would suffer, as well as among some who loved Canada and who foresaw a diminution of wealth for the colony."<sup>29</sup> The common people, however, were unaffected, for they had little to lose by the abolition of *congés*. Although the intention of the king in allowing twenty-five *congés* had been to help poor families, the trade-permits were actually so distributed as to help everybody else.

Frontenac's reaction to the declaration is expressed in his letter of October 25, 1696, to Pontchartrain. He begins with an account of his expedition to the Iroquois country in the summer, and then passes to the abolition of *congés*. The contractors, he says, have grossly exaggerated the quantity of pelts left in their hands, and their so-called losses are merely the result of maladministration. He then tells the minister that he will recall all Frenchmen from the West and will grant no more *congés*. He cites as an instance of his obedience to the orders of the king the fact that he had allowed only one man, La Forest, to apprise Cadillac at Michilimackinac of the outcome of the expedition against the Iroquois, and had forbidden fifty Frenchmen who had taken part in this expedition to return to the West. "I would fail in my duty to the king, were I to omit mentioning the murmurs caused by the declaration of his Majesty, as well as its sorry and inevitable consequences for the colony." These consequences were the alliance of the western Indians with the Iroquois, their trade with the English, and the occupation of the West by the latter. All of this is simply a repetition of what Cadillac had written in the preceding year, some expressions of the commandant are repeated verbatim in the governor's letter.

In the royal declaration and in the king's memorial there is a passing mention of the licentiousness of the *coureurs de bois*. Frontenac seized upon this as an occasion to vent his spleen against the Jesuits.

The licentiousness, debauchery, disorders and crimes of which the French traders are accused would be difficult for those people to prove who, because of their own private interests, have long wished to be the only ones allowed to trade [in the West] or to be better able to hide the trade in which they have always been and still are engaged. They have made use of these pretexts more than once.

<sup>28</sup> Mémoire historique . . . sur les Mauvais Effets . . . , AC, C 11A, 22:376.

<sup>29</sup> Mémoire sur les affaires du Canada, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:304.

This so-called licentiousness, he goes on to say, has been greatly exaggerated. Five or six Frenchmen during the governorship of La Barre and since that time two more have gone to live among the Indians. Frontenac adds that he himself had forced Frenchmen who had married Indian women to return to the French settlements.

As for drunkenness, the missionaries will never be able to prevent the English from supplying those regions with liquor, once the French cease to bring brandy there. The only difference will be that the English will supply the Indians with as much liquor as they want, and there will be no one, as is the case at present, to repress the excesses that may arise. Thus the obstacle [brandy] which they have so long claimed to be the only one to the propagation of the Faith will not be removed. Their continued harping on this string for more than forty years may easily win over those who do not know their other motives and their interests.

If a few Frenchmen have been too fond of women, I hope, my Lord, that you will do me the justice of not believing that I ever tolerated such disorders when I knew of them. Whenever the missionaries brought their complaints to me or to the commandants on the spot, the guilty ones were punished on the mere reports of these Fathers. This will no longer be possible after all the commandants are recalled.<sup>30</sup>

We have quoted this part of Frontenac's letter at length for several reasons. First, because it is typical of the insinuations met with throughout his correspondence. He first says "ils," then speaks of "les missionnaires," and finally of "ces Pères." Since the Jesuits were ordinarily referred to as "les Pères," and there were no other missionaries in the West, Pontchartrain could not fail to identify who "ils" were who wished to monopolize the fur trade.

Another reason for quoting this passage is to give a concrete example of the standard duet sung by Frontenac and Cadillac. When commenting on a passage of Cadillac's letter to Lagny of 1695, we called attention to the fact that after one year in the West, the "clever and keen" commandant had found no evidence of trade on the part of the Jesuits, and that he had to repeat the general accusations sent to France by a certain coterie,<sup>31</sup> accusations which had been given a new lease of life by Frontenac at the beginning of his first term.<sup>32</sup> Now, in 1696, although he had been in constant touch with Cadillac throughout the whole year, the governor is reduced to repeating the same vague accusations made by the commandant in 1695.

<sup>30</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, two copies signed by Frontenac in AC, C 11A, 14:154-167, and in BN, Clairambault, 879:350-363. The letter is printed in RAPQ, 1929, 308-318.

<sup>31</sup> *Supra*, 206.

<sup>32</sup> *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 20 ff.



Frontenac's implication that the complaints of the missionaries against the licentiousness and debauchery of the *coureurs de bois* had brought about the abolition of *congés* is simply ridiculous. The Jesuits had inveighed against the liquor traffic for the past fifty years; for more than twenty-five years they had thundered against the licentiousness of the French traders; and all this time they had sent letters, memoirs and petitions to the Court. In spite of this, nothing was ever done. In 1695, however, as we have seen, the French contractors, who were losing money because of the enormous quantity of pelts that was being sent them from Canada, took the matter into their own hands, realizing that they would be ruined unless the *congés* were abolished. Less than one year after their appeal to the king, the decree of abolition was issued. Frontenac was well aware of all this, just as he was well aware that his sending men to the West with his "orders" was equivalent to granting many more than the twenty-five *congés* he was allowed to give annually. Realizing that the declaration left him without his principal means of rewarding his protégés, realizing also that the declaration curtailed his own profits derived from the sale of *congés*, it was only natural that he should use the king's reference to licentiousness as a means of blaming the Jesuits.<sup>33</sup>

In a letter to Lagny of the same date as his letter to Pontchartrain, Frontenac notifies his correspondent that he is sending his secretary to Paris to explain the state of affairs. The abolition of *congés*, he says, would not affect him personally, but he foresees as a consequence the imminent ruin of the colony. He is not at all attached to the prerogative of distributing trade-permits "as M. the intendant seems to be. For the past seven years he has been using all sorts of devious means to take the privilege away from me." The granting of *congés* was not Frontenac's exclusive privilege; they had to be visaed by the intendant and were to be distributed to poor families, not to officers, protégés or political allies. "I would be delighted if the public clamor and the unusual murmurs of the people of this country against the abolition of *congés*, would force

<sup>33</sup> As is to be expected the letter of the governor is echoed in Margry's introduction to the fifth volume of his compilation. He admits, however, that the abolition of *congés* is due "to some extent" to the Jesuits. According to Margry, the measure was also partially due to Champigny whom Margry never forgave for refusing to be browbeaten by Frontenac. Finally, the contractors also came up for censure because of their unwillingness to lose money in order to build the fortune of Messrs. Frontenac, Cadillac and the rest of the great "colonials." See Margry, V, lxxvii-xc.

the Court to restore them. I would easily console myself if the Court empowered him [Champigny] or someone else to distribute the *congés*. This would free me from much trouble; for I did not please those to whom I granted the permits, and I displeased those to whom I could not grant them."<sup>34</sup>

A letter of Champigny of the same date confirms what Frontenac says about the murmurs of the people, but contradicts the governor's statements about his detachment and "consolation." After speaking of the many abuses arising from the *congés*, such as the licentious life of the *coureurs de bois* and the trade of the commandants, Champigny goes on to say:

I must represent to you, my Lord, that a few articles of his Majesty's declaration appear very harsh, and that its enforcement might bring about the ruin of the colony. I take the liberty of suggesting some middle course, such as to keep only two posts among the Ottawa [Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph, near present-day Niles, Michigan] and to grant twenty-five *congés* annually as was done until now, but with several restrictions which I could not insert in our joint letter,<sup>35</sup> because M. de Frontenac did not approve of these restrictions.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, Frontenac was not interested in *congés* with restrictions; he wanted to have a free hand, and to supplement the twenty-five *congés* with "orders" and "permissions." Since these latter were not *congés* they did not have to be visaed by the intendant, and the canoes of the bearers of such orders were exempt from his inspection.

In carrying out the provisions of the declaration of May 1696, Frontenac used many pretexts for delaying the recall of the French traders, but insisted on its immediate execution with regard to the missionaries. His argument was very simple: All Frenchmen must be recalled, but the Jesuits are Frenchmen, therefore . . . Furthermore, he forbade the sending of new missionaries to the West. The Jesuits of course protested against such discrimination. They did not think, they say in one of their memoirs to Pontchartrain, that it was his Majesty's intention that they should abandon their missions. They had tried to explain this to Frontenac, but "he did not even do them the favor of listening, because he thinks perhaps that they have obtained these orders which do not please him, but my

<sup>34</sup> Frontenac to Lagny, October 26, 1696, BN, Clairambault, 874:27.

<sup>35</sup> Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 320-325.

<sup>36</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, AC C 11A, 14:197-198.

Lord de Pontchartrain knows better than anyone that they [the Jesuits] had nothing to do with the king's declaration."<sup>37</sup>

All the documents from which we have been quoting were in the king's hands by the beginning of 1697. His reply to the governor and the intendant leaves no doubt about his position. All the objections, he says, against the abolition of *congés* were already known when his decision was taken; hence the provisions of the declaration of 1696 must be carried out to the letter. If, however, Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph have not been abandoned on receipt of the present letter, Frontenac may leave the garrison in these two posts until further notice. But as the only purpose of retaining these garrisons is to control the Indians and prevent them from doing anything prejudicial to the colony, his Majesty "does not want the officers and soldiers in those posts to carry on any kind of trade, either directly or indirectly, under any pretext, his intentions being to punish offenders severely." All the needs of the garrisons are to be supplied by the intendant. So that no one may plead ignorance, the king is sending an ordinance<sup>38</sup> which is to be published throughout the colony, especially at Michilimackinac and at Fort St. Joseph, and he warns Frontenac and Champigny that "they will be held responsible if I hear that the execution of this ordinance is being eluded by means which I cannot foresee." Louis XIV did not forget how some of his previous orders had been "carried out." With regard to the missionaries, the king specifically stated that it had never been his intention to prevent them from going to their missions in the interior, and that his declaration recalling the French from the West did not apply to them at all.<sup>39</sup>

This detailed account of the abolition of *congés* was necessary at this point, though it involves departing from the chronological order of events, in order to explain Cadillac's return from Michilimackinac and the letters which he wrote after his arrival in Quebec.

The declaration of May 21, 1696, was duly engrossed in the

<sup>37</sup> Requête a Monseigneur de Pontchartrain au nom des Jesuites qui sont en Canada, BN, Clairambault, 881:107-198. In a letter to Laval of June 8-14, 1696, M. Tremblay wrote: "C'est Mr. Riverin qui y [abolition of *congés*] a le plus contribué." Archives du Séminaire (Laval University) Quebec, *Lettres*, Carton N, no. 106, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Ordonnance pour la conservation des postes de Frontenac de Mississilimakinac et de St Joseph de Miamis en Canada, April 28, 1697, AC, B 19:264-265v; a copy of this ordinance under date of April 27, is in AC, F 3, 8:25-26.

<sup>39</sup> Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, April 27, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 328-332.

registers of the Sovereign Council and was published in the colony.<sup>40</sup> With regard to its promulgation in distant posts, Frontenac claimed that it was too late to make it known this year. In the spring of 1697, Champigny, who was equally responsible for its execution, spoke again to Frontenac reminding him to send the declaration to the distant posts. This was unnecessary, replied the governor, for, even before the declaration was received in Quebec, word had been sent to Cadillac to make the French return from the West; there would be no sense in sending another order to Michilimackinac now, and it was better to await the possible return of Cadillac himself.<sup>41</sup>

Frontenac's expectations were realized on August 29, when Cadillac reached Montreal "with a number of Indians belonging to the Upper nations and several canoes of Frenchmen."<sup>42</sup> Although no document gives the number of voyageurs who had come down with him, it is quite clear that they were few in number. Whatever order Frontenac may have sent to Cadillac, he did not notify him that all the French traders had to return. This appears from a letter of the governor which is dated two days after the letter of Champigny summarized above. The declaration, he wrote, has been promulgated and its provisions are being carried out to the letter.

Orders have been given for the general recall, next year, not only of all the voyageurs, but also of all the soldiers in the posts as well as their commandants, not excepting the Sieur [Alphonse] de Tonti. I gave orders that if the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac should come down with the convoy of French and Indians whom we were expecting, Tonti should return speedily to Michilimackinac with the Indians and five Frenchmen only, and take command there during the absence of the Sieur de Lamothe.<sup>43</sup>

Another indication that Frontenac had not previously sent Cadillac the order for the return of all Frenchmen is found in a letter of La Touche, the intendant's delegate at Montreal. It is quite clear that if the commandant had received such an order he would not have dared to disobey it by acting as this letter narrates.

I must also tell you, my Lord, that several individuals declared to me under oath, as appears from the copies of the declarations and petitions which I am sending to your Highness,—the originals are in the hands of the in-

<sup>40</sup> On September 24, 1696, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 49-50.

<sup>41</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:126.

<sup>42</sup> Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1696-1697, NYCD, IX, 671. Three hundred Indians were in the convoy, Cadillac to [Lagny], October 20, 1697, AC, C 11E, 14:28; Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 342.

<sup>43</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 341.

tendant—that the *Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac*, . . . who was in command at Michilimackinac, whence he returned a month and a half ago, has taken and extorted from the voyageurs a great quantity of beaver pelts, by threatening that otherwise he would force them to return to Montreal as was ordered by the king's declaration which commanded all Frenchmen to return hither.<sup>44</sup>

A few days after his arrival in Montreal, Cadillac proceeded to Quebec with some Indian chiefs and there took part in a meeting in Frontenac's house on September 11, 1697.

As we have seen, the king had written that if the garrisons of Michilimackinac and of Fort St. Joseph had not returned to Lower Canada by the time that Frontenac received the memoir of 1697, the governor was empowered to leave a few soldiers and a commandant in each of the two posts, but under no pretext whatever could they engage in any kind of trade. Frontenac thought that the garrisons would be unable to subsist under those conditions; but not wishing to settle the question by himself, he called a council to discuss what was most advisable. This council was made up of the intendant, five officers, and the *Sieur de Lamothe* "who had recently returned from Michilimackinac where he was in command, and who therefore had a better knowledge of the dispositions of the Indians."

Almost unanimously,<sup>45</sup> the council agreed that it would be impossible for officers and soldiers to subsist in those places on their pay. Moreover, it would be very costly to send them their pay each year in the form of provisions or merchandise, for beside the fact that these shipments would often be very uncertain, strong escorts would be required to protect the convoy. This would be equivalent to sending more Frenchmen every year to these posts, which seems to me contrary to the intention of his Majesty.

Consequently, Frontenac resolved to recall not only all the French traders, but also all the soldiers and officers who were in the western posts, because he did not think that the thirty soldiers which he was permitted to leave at Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph would be a match for the western Indians should these ally themselves with the Iroquois and the English. Such an alliance, the governor warns, will certainly come about as soon as the Indians realize that the soldiers are no longer supported by the French traders.<sup>46</sup>

In their joint letter of October 25, 1696, Frontenac and Champigny had expostulated with the minister to keep the western

<sup>44</sup> La Touche to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:162.

<sup>45</sup> The dissenting voice was Champigny's.

<sup>46</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 341.



posts,<sup>47</sup> and Champigny had suggested that if all the posts could not be kept, at least those of Michilimackinac and of St. Joseph be not abandoned and that a small garrison be maintained in each post.<sup>48</sup> The council's decision to abandon these posts was evidently due to the king's ordinance of April 1697, forbidding further trade by the men and officers of the proposed garrisons.

In the same letter to Pontchartrain, the governor told the minister that, on returning to Quebec, Cadillac had given an account of his administration in the West, and that he was well pleased with the commandant's vigilance and good conduct.

I should have like to be able to induce him to return to Michilimackinac where he has been so successful, but when he described the quarrels and difficulties which he had with the missionaries when he wanted to correct the abuses which they had introduced there, I yielded to his representations all the more willingly since the Sieur de Tonti had already left to take his place, and hence that post is not without a commandant."<sup>49</sup>

We have seen what those abuses consisted in, namely, in the opposition of the missionaries to the unlimited sale of brandy to the Indians. In passing, we may remark that if there had been real abuses it should not have been difficult to specify what they were, especially for a "keen and clever" man who had spent three years in the West, whose observation nothing escaped.

The true reasons why Cadillac did not want to return to Michilimackinac are quite different from the reason mentioned by Frontenac. They were first, his fear of the wrath of the voyageurs from whom he had extorted furs; and second, because he would no longer be able to carry on the lucrative trade of the past three years, a trade which had netted him 27,000 livres of clear profit. Finally, since no more traders were allowed to go to the West, Cadillac would no longer be able to levy a substantial tax for "protection."

A few days after Frontenac had written to Pontchartrain, Cadillac sent an account of his three years in the West to the Minister and another report to Lagny. In the first he wrote that when he left Michilimackinac, the Ottawa country was "in good order,"<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 322.

<sup>48</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:198. The following year the intendant explained why he changed his mind with regard to the garrison in the two posts, Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:127-127v.

<sup>49</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 342.

<sup>50</sup> The author of the Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1696-1697, wrote that "great confusion" reigned in the territory which Cadillac had left in good order. NYCD, IX, 667, 672. Cf. also La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, II, 288, 298.

but that on arriving in Quebec, he saw the impending ruin of the colony owing to

the abolition of the twenty-five *congés* which have always been the means of maintaining the good will of our allies toward us . . . . The king has judged advisable to keep Michilimackinac and the post on the St. Joseph River. Allow me, my Lord, to point out to you that it is absolutely impossible to keep those posts without the help of the voyageurs. With the abolition of *congés*, the voyageurs are forbidden to go to those places; in any event they could not carry on their trade there without a garrison.<sup>51</sup>

To prove his point he compares the difficulty of provisioning Fort Frontenac with that of supplying Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph; the cost of sending provisions under escort would be prohibitive, because of the distance from Lower Canada to either of these two posts, and because of the dangers to which the convoys would be exposed.

The same arguments are substantially repeated in his letter to Lagny. After saying that Frontenac had given him public approbation of his conduct at Michilimackinac, he goes on to say:

M. de Champigny does not seem to be so well satisfied with my services and makes no secret of it. The only pretext for his resentment is that, three years ago, I did not want to publish an ordinance of his at Michilimackinac. I had contrary orders from M. de Frontenac, and I have always executed his orders thinking that he was the only one in this country to interpret the intentions of the king. You did me the honor of enjoining me to follow such a course both in your letters and when I took my leave of you. If the Jesuits had not stirred trouble for me, M. de Champigny would be wholly on my side, but because I suppressed the abuses which these missionaries had introduced, I did not serve the king to the satisfaction of the intendant. Yet, this year, I have had 102 Iroquois killed without costing his Majesty one *son*, and thanks to my *savoir-faire*, I managed to provide subsistence for the garrison for the last two years without expense and without the intendant's sending any convoy.<sup>52</sup>

Since this passage merely reproduces what Cadillac wrote to Lagny in 1696, it is useless to repeat the comments which we have already made on its contents.<sup>53</sup> If Cadillac had possessed a little more moral courage, he would have dispensed with his cant about the service of the king and openly stated that he obeyed Frontenac rather than Louis XIV, because the orders of the governor were much more profitable than those of the sovereign. As we have seen, the commands of the king regarding the trade of officers and

<sup>51</sup> Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1697, AC, C 11E, 14:26.

<sup>52</sup> Cadillac to [Lagny], October 20, 1697, *ibid.*, 29.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra*, 214-215.



the sale of brandy to the Indians were so clearly stated that no "interpretation" was called for.

It is unnecessary to analyze the subsequent correspondence relative to the abolition of *congés* and the maintaining or closing of Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph. The following passages may be quoted to bear out what we have already said. When the report of Frontenac's council reached Louis XIV

His Majesty was surprised that after so much insistence on their part to keep Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph, they should now abandon these posts under the pretext that officers and soldiers cannot subsist there without trading. This appeared to his Majesty a very weak reason and it convinced him more than anything else of the truth of the information he had received: that these establishments had been founded rather to satisfy the greed of a few officers than to defend the colony.<sup>54</sup>

The king thought that the French had made or were about to make peace with the Iroquois; but should the war continue it would be sufficient to send a few reliable men with arms for the Indian allies. The narrator of the events of 1696-1697 had wondered how the abolition of *congés* should be explained to the Indians.<sup>55</sup> The king answered that those sent to the Indians with presents, as well as the missionaries, should tell them that "his Majesty thereby wished to furnish them French merchandise at a lower price, and to pay the Indians a higher price for their pelts than was paid when trade was carried on in the woods. Once convinced by experience that this is so, they will hasten to Montreal with their pelts, and will be more closely united with the colonists than by the so-called more convenient trade in the woods."<sup>56</sup>

In his letter of the same day Pontchartrain substantially repeats what is contained in the above instructions of the king. "I must tell you that you have put too much credence in those men who through covetousness and greed are in favor of trading in the woods." Frontenac, he continues, should have foreseen the economic consequences caused by the enormous quantity of beaver pelts sent to France, as for the impossibility of officers and men subsisting at Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph unless they be allowed to trade, Pontchartrain says:

<sup>54</sup> Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 356.

<sup>55</sup> Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, NYCD, IX, 675.

<sup>56</sup> Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 357.

They do not subsist on trade goods. All that is necessary will be sent to Canada in the same manner as when *congés* were granted. It is not from the Indians that they received their clothes, their bread, their salt, their drink. Hence this new objection can only come from the desire of the officers to engage in trade, as it is said the Sieur de Lamothe did, who, I am told, has come back with a great deal of money. I agree with you that the few soldiers in the forts would not be able to keep the Indians allied to us if the latter did not find it advantageous. I formerly made use of the same argument to show you how unfounded was the contention that these outposts served to prevent the Indians from allying themselves with the English. With regard to these forts being used, in case of need, as places where the French ranging the woods could gather and unite their force with the soldiers against the Indians, allow me to tell you that this reason is no better than the other. How would it be possible to assemble men scattered ten, twenty, thirty leagues from the posts? It is much more likely that, if the Indians intended to unite with our enemies, they could cut the throats of all the Frenchmen scattered among them without giving them time to assemble and fight.<sup>57</sup>

In his answer Frontenac denied that the garrisons had ever received from Quebec what was necessary for their subsistence, because to send the needed supplies would have entailed enormous expense.

We simply allowed the licensees to load their canoes with merchandise and with all that they judged necessary to defray the expenses of their journey and of their stay there. It is quite true that some brandy has been brought to the West, because it is the only beverage that helps them to digest the fish and the poor food which is available there; for wine, bread or salt are unknown in those places, and even the missionaries are obliged to use Spanish Mass wine.

If an officer or a soldier wants to buy wheat or some other commodity, he must buy it from the Indians with the merchandise he has brought along, "and if they thereby make some small profit it should not be begrudged them in view of the risks and hardships which they undergo among those barbarous nations. I even think that if the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac as well as others made some profit there, it is but a light reward for his services."

The governor says at the close of his letter that Cadillac who is bringing the mail to France will give a detailed account of the conditions of this country, of which he is fully informed. "I am convinced that you will be pleased with his report, if you graciously allow him to see you. I have already informed you in several of

<sup>57</sup> Pontchartrain to Frontenac, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 361-362. This quotation from the minister's letter is a pointed answer to Margry's ridiculous *chaîne de postes*.

my letters that he has always performed his duty faithfully in all that pertains to the king's service, and particularly while in command in the Ottawa country where he remained three years. He is a man who certainly deserves the honor of your protection."<sup>58</sup>

By October 1698, which is the date of the above letter of Frontenac, Cadillac had been in Quebec for more than a year. No sooner had he arrived there than Joseph Moreau and Louis Durand presented a petition to Champigny in which they detailed at length the extortions of the commandant at Michilimackinac. The following account of the subsequent lawsuits in which Cadillac was involved is based on Champigny's letter of July 3, 1698, supplemented by other sources which corroborate the intendant's narrative.<sup>59</sup> We have left out all that is irrelevant and have eliminated the legal seventeenth century jargon which in places makes Champigny's report difficult to understand. Although the letter has been translated into English, its literal rendering makes the whole letter almost unintelligible.

Champigny begins by saying that while Cadillac was still at Michilimackinac, he had received several complaints against the commandant who was contravening the king's orders and exerting pressure on the traders in the West. The intendant notified Cadillac to put a stop to his exactions, but the latter kept on replying that he would prove how groundless the complaints were on his return to Montreal.

The complaints of Moreau and Durand, as set forth in their petition to Champigny, were as follows. In April 1696, Cadillac's wife hired them to take a canoe of merchandise to Michilimackinac. Each of the two voyageurs was to be paid a salary of 100 livres, and each was allowed to take 100 livres worth of merchandise which they could sell at Michilimackinac for their own profit. They further made a verbal agreement with Mme. Cadillac to take two canoes to her husband instead of one, which was all they were allowed in virtue of the *cong * granted by Frontenac.<sup>60</sup> Wishing

<sup>58</sup> Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 10, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 365-370.

<sup>59</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A 16:87-96v, translation in MHS, XXXIII, 86-94. The various documents which Champigny mentions in this letter are in AC, F 3, 8:70-81v. The proceedings of the Sovereign Council in connection with the lawsuit are in *Jugements et d lib rations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 165-168, 180-183. Six documents are in the Archives of the Province of Quebec; they are listed *en bloc* in *Inventaire d'une collection de pi ces judiciaires...*, P.-G. Roy, ed., 2 volumes, Beauceville, 1917, I, 32, no. 266. Some documents dealing with the arbitration are translated into English in MHS, XXXIV, 215-220.

<sup>60</sup> See MHS, XXXIV, 217.

to make the best of their opportunity, Moreau and Durand loaded the two canoes with four or five hundred livres worth of merchandise of their own, over and above the 100 livres worth specified in their contract with Mme. Cadillac.

While they were preparing for the voyage, Louis de La Touche, who had been delegated by the intendant to see to it that the regulations concerning brandy were observed, discovered the second canoe. He promptly seized it, confiscated the goods, sold them at auction and applied the proceeds to the hospital of Montreal. Forty *pots* of brandy which were in the seized canoe were not confiscated because, it was claimed, the liquor was for the personal use of Moreau or his companions and had been put in the second canoe by mistake.

La Touche's inspection, we may remark, was not very thorough, for in spite of this confiscation, not one but three canoes loaded with merchandise were brought to Cadillac by these same men. When the convoy arrived at Michilimackinac Cadillac sold on credit to Moreau and Durand a part of the cargo for 7,000 livres. Nearly half this sum was the price set by Cadillac on 198 *pots* of brandy at 25 livres a *pot*, though the cost to himself at Montreal had been 3 livres a *pot*. All this, as Champigny points out in his letter, was directly against the express orders of the king as well as against his own ordinance of 1694.

A month after this very profitable transaction, Cadillac summarily clapped Durand into jail because, after wounding the dog of an Indian of Michilimackinac, he would not pay damages. Durand thereupon sent word to the commandant that he would not fulfill his contract regarding the 7,000 livres worth of merchandise, and when Moreau declared that he was unable to meet this obligation alone, he, too, was sent to jail by Cadillac on the ground that he had tried to free his partner.

While the two traders were in prison, Cadillac went to their cabins and took not only the 7,000 livres worth of merchandise, but also their own merchandise, their arms, provisions, clothes, canoes, and all their possessions. Not content with this he broke open their private chests and stole several promissory notes, a bond, bills, and other papers belonging to them. Cadillac justified this theft on the ground that Moreau and Durand had brought to Michilimackinac more than the 100 livres worth of merchandise to which they were entitled by their contract with his wife. The two luckless traders were therefore in a sorry plight when they were let out of jail a few days later. As Cadillac refused to return any of their

belongings, they had to live on loans, but they were resolved to secure redress from the burglar as soon as the commandant returned to Quebec.

Their chief claims in the above mentioned petition to Champigny were first, that Cadillac should pay their wages, 100 livres each; secondly, he should compensate them for all the goods which he had stolen; thirdly, he should reimburse the amount of the stolen bills and also of the stolen bond as well as the amount of the notes, which they were unable to cash at Michilimackinac, for their debtors had naturally refused to honor bond and notes which were no longer in their possession. Since Cadillac was refusing to produce the notes even now, they suspected that he had cashed them himself and had pocketed the money. As for the goods in excess of the 100 livres worth to which they were entitled, they had the same right to them as did Cadillac, who had also fraudulently taken more goods than was allowed by his *cong  *.

On his part Cadillac claimed that the profits from the goods in excess of 100 livres belonged to him; that far from his having to make compensation, they owed him money. For, he said, at the time when he took back the merchandise which he sold them, he found that some of it was missing. Finally, he disclaimed all responsibility for what was owed to Moreau and Durand by the signers of the promissory notes and for the bond which he had taken when he burglarized their chests.

The claims and counter-claims of the litigants were embodied in a writ prepared by Champigny for the Sovereign Council before which the case was to be tried. The parties to the suit, however, decided to submit their respective claims to private arbitrators instead of having it brought to trial.<sup>61</sup> Inquiries were made by the arbitrators as to the cost of merchandise in the Sioux country where Moreau had gone after his release from prison. Cadillac objected to this, because the cost of merchandise was much higher there than at Michilimackinac, where he had seized the property of Moreau and Durand. Besides, whatever business Moreau had transacted in that country was null and void, because Cadillac himself had issued orders, which had been sanctioned by Frontenac, against going to the Sioux country. To this Moreau countered that what was forbidden was to go to the Sioux country *via* the Fox villages, that many traders had gone there by other routes, and that Cadillac him-

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. MHS, XXXIV, 215-216.



self had sent trading parties to the Sioux villages by way of the Illinois country.

At this point Frontenac stepped in. Dupuis, who had been delegated by Champigny to make the above mentioned inquiry for the arbitrators, was called in by the governor and was sent to jail for carrying out the instructions of the intendant. This intimidated the arbitrators, Pachot and Hazeur, and after being threatened by Frontenac, they washed their hands of the whole business and allowed the litigants to have the case tried before "whomsoever and in what manner soever they saw fit."<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile Durand who had lost less than his partner withdrew his complaints, but Moreau carried on the fight and brought the case to the intendant who reported on it to the Sovereign Council. What Cadillac feared most was a verdict that would force him to make good the damage. To forestall such a decision, he challenged Champigny's fitness as a judge, because the intendant was prejudiced against him. According to his petition, he was apprehensive lest Champigny "take occasion of the lawsuit to punish me for not having wanted to published your ordinance at Michilimackinac, and I specially remember the threats in the letters which you did me the honor of writing that you would ruin me at Court."<sup>63</sup> In another petition of the same days, Cadillac asked that the case be tried before the godfather of his wife, René-Louis Chartier de Lotbinière, the provost of Quebec.

The councillors disregarded these petitions and upheld the intendant's verdict ordering Cadillac to pay 3,723 livres 4 sols 11 deniers to Moreau.<sup>64</sup> Two weeks latter Cadillac appealed, and demanded that the case be tried in France,<sup>65</sup> knowing quite well that Moreau was too poor to go and defend his claims in Europe. Besides, the attorney general had pointed out that such an appeal was expressly forbidden by royal ordinances.<sup>66</sup> At this stage Frontenac again came to the rescue. He went to the Council and berated the councillors, telling them that if they disregarded his remonstrances with regard to letting Cadillac sue in France he would consider

<sup>62</sup> MHS, XXXIV, 220. Cf. *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 167.

<sup>63</sup> *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 166.

<sup>64</sup> *Inventaire d'une collection*, I, 32, pièce 3.

<sup>65</sup> Declaration du Sr de Lamothe Cadillac, March 8, 1698, AC, F 3, 8:78-79.

<sup>66</sup> AC, F 3, 8:70-73. *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 175. See what Frontenac himself had written concerning those who appealed to France from the verdict of the court of Quebec, Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 70.

what he would have to do. The council decided that Champigny in virtue of his powers as intendant should try the case. Frontenac, who was present when the councillors gave their decision, told Champigny that he would have to answer to his Majesty for abuse of power and contravening the king's orders.<sup>67</sup>

We may note, by the way, the light which this episode throws on Margry's panegyric of Frontenac. He tells us that Frontenac treated the Canadians kindly and that he helped the poor.<sup>68</sup> Moreau was both a Canadian and very poor. Frontenac's interference with the regular administration of justice in this case shows that he ceased to be kind when poor Canadians sought redress against the vexations of a French adventurer who happened to be the governor's protégé.

Champigny, however, knew that he was within his rights, and despite the threats of Frontenac re-tried the case and ordered the ex-commandant to pay 2,565 livres 4 deniers. As soon as the verdict became known, Frontenac forbade Moreau to leave Quebec; and Cadillac secured from the governor an order forbidding the seizure of his own property. Moreau appealed to Frontenac through the intendant, but all the redress he got consisted in threats, ill-treatments and abuse, while Cadillac received further assistance.

Why is it, asked Champigny, that so much protection should be extended to Cadillac in view of his bad conduct, of his mal-administration, of his contraventions of the king's orders while he was in command at Michilimackinac?<sup>69</sup> The exactions, the petty tyranny of the past three years was being brought to light in the Moreau suit and in other lawsuits against Cadillac, for many had been wronged by the commandant. In the letter from which we have already quoted, La Touche goes on to say:

Nobody ever made so much money in so short a time; nobody ever caused so great an outcry on account of the wrongs he did to those who advance goods for that kind of trade, making it very prejudicial to the commerce of colony. In my opinion, all the beaver pelts which the said Sieur de Lamothe has gathered at Michilimackinac should be seized, and a part returned to those from whom he extorted them as appears from their declarations and petitions. People have assured me that if they thought they could obtain justice, many more persons would have sued him. But as the said Sieur de Lamothe is protected by M. the Count de Frontenac, they did not dare to complain. The said Sieur de Lamothe tricked them into

<sup>67</sup> *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 174-175, 182.

<sup>68</sup> Margry, V, cxlii.

<sup>69</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:93v, MHS, XXXIII, 92.

believing that he would return to Michilimackinac, in order to intimidate them and prevent them from lodging complaints. One remedy remains—to stop payment on his bills of exchange in France until he has satisfied the merchants who are his principal creditors.<sup>70</sup>

Champigny also knew of people who had claims against the protégé of the governor; they were waiting for the time when the judges could again administer justice without exposing themselves to Frontenac's harsh treatment.<sup>71</sup>

A week after the date of the letter which we have summarized in the preceding pages, the intendant wrote again to Pontchartrain. He begins by telling the minister how with the support of Frontenac and Caillières Alphonse Tonti had eluded the declaration of May 1696 and the ordinance of 1697, which were intended to put an end to the disorders in the West, which disorders, he adds, "had been brought to their peak by the Sieur de Lamothe, a captain in this country, who returned last September from Michilimackinac after having been years in command there. I will give an account of his administration when I write at greater length."<sup>72</sup>

This account was never sent, for reasons which will appear below. Relying on the protection of the governor the ex-commandant thought that everything was permitted to him; he accused Champigny of his own contraventions of the orders of the king and was forced to apologize publicly to the intendant.

In one of his letter Pontchartrain had urged Champigny to live in harmony with Frontenac and to forget his resentment for the good of the colony. The intendant wrote:

For your sake and for that of M. de Frontenac, I have decided to overlook and forget the grief and unpleasantness caused by the imprisonment of the Sieur Dupuis, when M. de Frontenac encroached on my powers by preventing the execution of the sentence against M. de Lamothe, captain, in his suit against Moreau . . . Deferring to his [Frontenac's] wishes I discontinued the proceedings against that officer for his irregularities while in command at Michilimackinac, which consisted especially in the considerable trade, even in the brandy trade which he carried on there against the orders of the king. He claimed, however, that he had received contrary orders from M. de Frontenac, who told me so himself. Finally, I overlooked and forgot the injurious calumny of that officer who told me that he believed I had a share in [the profits of] the brandy trade that was

<sup>70</sup> La Touche to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:163.

<sup>71</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:94v-95, MHS, XXXIII, 93. Matthieu Sauton, for instance, who had also been robbed at Michilimackinac sued Cadillac in the following year, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 358-359.

<sup>72</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 12, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:99v-100.

carried on the Ottawa country . . . . But that officer has begged forgiveness for this calumny in the presence of Messrs. de Conté and de Vaudreuil. He has settled with Moreau. It only remains for me to ask you, my Lord, that you forgive him, too . . . .<sup>73</sup>

Shortly after the date of the above letter, Cadillac left for France, having settled with Moreau and Durand. It was all well and good to appeal to France from the verdict of the Quebec court, but it was another matter to bring his case in person before the French judges. Beside the fact that such an appeal was illegal, he would have to explain his trading activities in the West—another breach of the king's orders—and in Paris there would be no governor to browbeat the judges. Cadillac also knew that Champigny was taking the depositions of all those whom he had defrauded, and that the intendant's indictment would be in the hands of the minister when he arrived in Paris. The prospect of what was in store for him in France frightened him so much that he "sought the intervention of an influential person to oblige the plaintiff [Moreau] to compromise."<sup>74</sup> At first Moreau absolutely refused to listen to a proposal which he considered very disadvantageous, but he finally agreed to settle his account with Cadillac. On October 9, 1698, Moreau "acknowledged having received from the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac all the money that was owed to him in virtue of the verdict of my Lord the intendant rendered on April 22, from which debt the said Moreau discharges the said Sieur de Lamothe."<sup>75</sup>

The contemporary records of Cadillac's years at Michilimackinac, as distinguished from the gratuitous assertions of his panegyrists, show that he was a failure as a leader, as a colonizer, and as an administrator. He did not extend in any manner the zone of French influence in the West; he was unable to prevent the Ottawa and the Hurons from establishing relations with the English through the intermediary of the Iroquois; he did not succeed in keeping the western Indians at peace among themselves. When he left Michilimackinac, the various tribes of the territory over which he had jurisdiction were fighting one another more vigorously than ever.

His single outstanding achievement consists in having re-introduced the brandy trade on a greater scale than at any time before his coming; and was thus the direct cause of the excesses arising

<sup>73</sup> Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 14, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:120v-121.

<sup>74</sup> *Inventaire d'une collection*, I, 32, pièce 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pièce 6.

from the liquor traffic among the Indians. Naturally, the Jesuits combatted a "policy" which threatened the ruin of their missions. *Inde irae.*

At the end of this first series of articles on the founder of Detroit, I wish to make it clear that Cadillac's trading activities and his violation of the royal ordinances are easy to explain and even to extenuate, in view of the conditions of the times and the man's own temperament. The French colonial officers were paid ridiculously small salaries and somehow had to find means of making both ends meet. Cadillac was, moreover, inordinately greedy, and was one of those who "looked upon their place as a Gold Mine given 'em, in order to enrich themselves; so that the public Good, must always march behind private Interest."<sup>76</sup> What cannot be extenuated is Cadillac blaming everybody else, and the missionaries in particular, for imaginary abuses, while he himself was mainly responsible for having introduced or increased real abuses at Michilimackinac.

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<sup>76</sup> Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, I, 326-327.



# The Relation of Philipp Segesser

(Continued from July)

## 5. The Animal Kingdom

The scorpion found here is of a different variety from the bottled scorpions sold by Italians in Germany. It is called *alagran* [*sic*] and is very numerous. One must be very careful when one goes to bed that no such animal lies under the covers. The scorpion's bite, while poisonous, is easily cured.

The common scorpion is colored green, has four feet like the lizard, lives in holes and hill caves, and is very dangerous. However, it is encountered less frequently than is the *alacrán*.

The horrible animal, tarantula, is numerous but because it is easily seen I have never heard of anyone being bitten by it. The tarantula resembles a hairy spider, is as large as a toad, and walks along on tip toe.

A variety of black spider which I frequently saw in Germany is here extremely poisonous and seems to be a sworn enemy of mankind. When one approaches this spider it jumps froglike upon one's hands or feet and delivers a quick bite. Thereupon the bitten member swells rapidly and if the little wound is not immediately cauterized the victim soon dies. This spider does more harm than any other animal. Almost daily there come reports about the beginning or the end of such bites. One time, with the grace of St. Paul [and a remedy?] (which I use also for snake bite), I healed such a bite. May God reward those who sent me this excellent healing remedy.

The chameleon is also often seen here. It makes a show with its kingly crown but harms no one. However, I observed that it lives not alone on air but also with its tongue. This is as long as the entire animal, and with it the chameleon cleverly manages to catch gnats and flies for nourishment.

Grasshoppers are sometimes as large as tree frogs and do great damage, just as they do in Germany. I do not wonder that St. John in the wilderness ate grasshoppers, because Spaniards in this country roast and eat them, too.

Here is found a kind of wasp which stings no one but which flies in and out of houses as though they were bee hives. Doors and windows stand open because of the great heat, and the wasps have free access. They hang their clay houses anywhere and everywhere. These houses are many-sided little pipes. They are fastened together like those which boys blow and pull through their mouths to produce various tones. Wasp nests likewise give forth tones when they are blown. After the wasps have built their little pipes they fill them with the most horrible spiders, then close up the pipes with clay. In a short time white worms grow out of these spiders and these worms then turn into wasps. Wasps are a great inconvenience in the house. No closet or chest can be so tightly locked that

they cannot force their way into a crack and everywhere fasten their little pipes. For this reason I order the houseboys to kill them whenever they find them.

A certain kind of bee builds its nest in the trees and gathers a very sweet, sugar-white honey. But the nest is not made of wax, rather of a very thin and delicate web, like that in which silk worms wrap themselves. This year these bees are especially numerous.

Here follows something about birds. Quail, grouse, doves of various sizes, turtle-doves, geese, cranes, snow geese, and ducks are numerous. There are also pheasants and turkeys. Indians who bring such fowl to the father missionary receive their value in maize. Because of the many guests, such fowl are always welcome.

An eagle, black in color with brown feathers, is found mostly along the banks of the above-mentioned Rio Grande. There it is on the look out for fish which besides deer are its favorite food and which it, like the Indians, eats raw. The Pimas shoot this eagle with arrows and decorate themselves with its feathers.

A short time ago some Pimas brought me a live eagle, injured only in one wing. I am writing at present with one of its feathers. It is stated as a fact that a few years ago in Guadalajara an eagle which had two or three heads was shot and sent to the king of Spain.

A vari-colored black and brown bird, similar to the eagle, is found in great numbers. It is called *aura*. Auras, as already explained above, eat all dead animals with such celerity that in little more than a day there remain nothing but their bones. It seems to be a particular act of Providence that these birds are so numerous here for otherwise the plague would frequently occur, since nothing is buried.

Birds of prey are plentiful. They do not allow my chicks to grow up. Perhaps we will set them high barriers.

The *quagamaias* bird, large as an ostrich, as well as red and yellow parrots, I could do without. Both kinds of birds are very ill tempered and talkative.

There is a very beautiful, completely red bird called the cardinal, probably because of its color. I had already seen this bird in the royal chambers at Sevilla, as also a little sky blue bird which now flies about my house.

Besides little parrots, there is no more diverting bird than the nightingale, here called *bisbontli* [sinsonte]. Parrot-like it can imitate all other birds.

One sort of bird I will send stuffed when opportunity affords. In this bird one can recognize the wonderful omnipotence of God. It is called *curparosa* and like the bee takes its nourishment from the flowers, always on the wing. When I saw it for the first time I believed it to be a kind of wasp. Wrens and wood mice are large in comparison with it, yet it has a complete bird shape. This extraordinarily delicate little bird is colored the beautiful blue of the ice-bird.

So much for birds. Less may be said of fish which are scarce here because of lack of water. For this reason I cannot hold rigidly to fasts since one has to eat what there is. Hence, there is nothing more than lentils and dried peas and these only in the house of the missionary, because what the Pimas sow for themselves is eaten in one day. The ox must do for fish and the precious fast must be replaced with sour sweat and work. In the large river which flows near two villages of my mission is found a fish like the catfish in the Danube, but it is rarely caught. Salt fish are brought from the sea. No one buys these, however, except the father missionary and now and then a rich silver merchant.

The river fish compared above to the catfish is here called *boyre*. Also a fish like the pike is sometimes brought in. The *camarón* looks like a scorpion, but has a good flavor.

Sea snails creep as far as this region but they are not for me. In the brooks one sees here and there little perch which are prized according to their worth. Other fish are not found. The divine teacher says in the Evangelium: *Comedite quicquid apponitur vobis*. [Eat whatever is placed before you.] Pimas and Indians have only two or three fast days in the year. Because they subsist mainly on hill fruits they really fast the whole year round, however.

## 6. "Astronomical Remarks"

Here I direct attention to the heavens. Since the course of the stars is the same everywhere in the world I shall mention only certain occurrences which I have noticed in the course of the previous and present year. Last year, 1736, while on a journey, I saw an eclipse of the moon. I did not know that an eclipse of the moon would take place and when it did I saw with astonishment how the moon darkened in a hitherto unobserved manner. The eclipse began with small black circle of light. Immediately thereupon the entire circle appeared blood red and fiery. Then for two or three hours the moon did not give off any light whatsoever, although it was not completely dark either. The eclipse ended with a black ring, on the opposite end from its starting place.

I talked about this matter with another father who, to be sure, knew little of mathematics. He gave me his opinion of the matter which I here set forth.\* The mathematicians in Ingoldstadt might have a disputation about this. I have not the time to think it over.

In February of the present year there appeared an especially brilliant star. It lagged every night so that constellations like Orion and Sirius [*sic*] far passed it in their courses. This lagging star was seen until the month of June. Early in June it did not appear for two or three nights, although

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\* The "explanation" of the red circle around the moon is kept in the original in the interest of possible clarity. Translation would only render an obscure meaning more obscure. "... dass vielleicht die Opposition sich mit dem Meer ereignet habe und da dieses diaphan, habe es solche rothe Farbe verursacht bis es zur Erde gelangte."

its place in the heavenly circle had been approximately at zenith on retiring bell. I had never seen it before and its unusual course and immobility amazed me. The soldiers who were with me at the time, however, said that it appeared in the same place every year.

During the same period of time when this star was visible we also saw a small comet. At first its place was near the western horizon, but it lagged farther and farther until it associated with the above-mentioned large star. The latter, however, had no tail like the comet. Thereafter, the comet was observed circling about the large star until finally on the night of Ash Wednesday it disappeared and was seen no more.

I do not know whether or not these things were better observed in Europe. If they were, one of our mathematicians in Ingoldstadt may give more information about them. These signs were forebodings of evil times which I soon had to experience. Comets seldom bring good things with them.†

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† Here Segesser makes obvious reference to the events of the 1737 uprising.

## Notes and Comments

Among the most interestingly written books that have arrived on our desk during these past few years is *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*, by William N. Bischoff, S.J. The publication date as announced by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., of Caldwell, Idaho, was August 31, 1945. In getting out this volume of 258 pages The Caxton Printers have exercised their art in a manner highly pleasing to the eye. Excellent aids are presented in the form of six maps and a Biographical Appendix, which supplies ample data about each of the important missionaries who labored in Old Oregon. The footnotes are placed at the end of the volume, a position that gives some pain to the more scholarly minded, but gives reviewers at least some opportunity to carp a bit.

The story of the arrival, the progress, the difficulties, and the expansion of the Jesuits in the Inland Empire of the vast Northwest and Alaska is told with a captivating verve. The author relishes his work. Father Bischoff has long been gathering materials for this study. He constantly lets the documents speak for themselves. The letters of the pioneers of the past add not only authority but a distinctive flavor to the book. His use of secondary materials is judicious, and the summaries of events, described at length by other writers, are good. The coverage in the volume as to time and area is wide. The first two chapters are preliminary, with emphasis upon Father De Smet's journeys. The third chapter deals with the foundation of St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads, again with De Smet in a feature rôle. The next eight chapters describe the origins and development of each of the Jesuit missions in each of the larger areas—Montana, Idaho, Washington and Alaska, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Oregon. Besides accounting for the missions Father Bischoff gives brief descriptions of the educational foundations of the Jesuits, the parochial and secondary schools and the colleges, with special pages for Gonzaga University, Spokane.

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*History of Saint John's Seminary Brighton*, by John E. Sexton and Arthur J. Riley, has just been published at Boston. This is indeed a fitting amplification of the monumental *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, produced last year by these veteran collaborators. Fathers Sexton and Riley have done well by their Alma Mater



on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the opening of St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts. In the introduction and opening chapter the history of the early training of men for the priesthood is told. Then six chapters follow with the account of the founding of the Seminary, its expansion, and the rectorships down to 1944. The 233 pages required for the narrative are copiously illustrated with pictures of the men responsible for the training of the clergy and with scenes from their environment. The last eighty-six pages are filled with documents, names of donors of bursaries, and a list of the alumni from 1884 to 1945. These latter will rejoice much in the possession of so readable a volume on the institution of their formation, and the laity will profit by this description of the purpose, development, and character of a Catholic seminary.

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*Album of American History*, Volume II, 1783-1853, came from the press in mid-September (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1945, \$7.50). While this volume like the first of the *Album* does not lend itself readily to the art of book reviewing, it does call for notice. Under the general editorship of James Truslow Adams the complete set is designed to illustrate the history of our nation with an ample selection of contemporary pictures, sketches, drawings, broadsides, and excerpts from newspapers and periodicals. Thus the work may be a teaching aid and an interesting medium for instructing people of all reading levels in the manner of our national development. The running story follows very broad lines chronologically. In this volume it is divided into ten chapters, each consisting of the story and a large block of the 1,300 illustrations. The attractiveness of the *Album* cannot be gainsaid. The managing editor is R. V. Coleman, the associate editor is Thomas Robson Hay, and the art director is Atkinson Dymock. Considering the scope of the project we may say that the editors have achieved very well the purpose stated in the foreword of presenting a "picture of how our history looked." Teachers of history will find the book very useful, but they should be reminded to recall to their students the purpose of the illustrations and to test their own powers of criticism and interpretation on them, lest this good aid become a source of historical perversion.

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*Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society now numbers thirty-four volumes. The most

recent work, published under the editorship of the Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., contains four papers. The first of these is an address, "The Plan of Pope Benedict XV for a Just and Durable Peace," by Charles Callan Tansill. The second is a dissertation for the Master of Arts: "The Episcopacy of Leonard Neale, Second Archbishop of Baltimore," by Sister Bernetta Brislen, O.S.F. The third paper, entitled "Catholic Eastern Churches in New York City," by Sister Mary Constance Golden, is of a popular nature. The last is a Master's dissertation by Rev. Arthur F. Nugent on "The Constitution and the Declaration."

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The Oxford University Press has recently published *Documents of the Christian Church* as selected, edited and translated into English by Henry Bettenson. The volume of 456 pages is designed as an aid to students of the history of Christianity. The documents have already been published in Greek and Latin, but in this volume they are brought together under headings that make for far more convenient reading.

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One of the ten interesting articles in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for July 1945 is an appreciation of José Toribio Medina, by Maury A. Bromsen. In ten pages the author has given a remarkably human portraiture of the great Chilean. Father of more than three hundred works, Toribio Medina (1852-1930) is characterized as "literary critic, translator, naturalist, bibliographer, geographer, and entomologist, as well as paleographer, numismatist, biographer, ethnologist, lexicographer, and archaeologist—all blended into a cordial and democratic personality. He was one of the New World's most eminent historians, a peerless book analyst and cataloguer . . . a superb publisher . . . a profound humanist."

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The editorship of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* has passed from the capable hands of John Tate Lanning of Duke University into the capable hands of James Ferguson King of the University of California, Berkeley. At a very considerable sacrifice of his research talents Dr. Lanning has for years carried on his editorial work and maintained a high standard for the *HAHR*. Only those who have the responsibility of meeting deadlines can appreciate the editor's position. Few realize the sacrifice of time

and the drudgery entailed and few estimate the contribution of time made to scholarship on the part of editors. It is pleasing to note the willingness of Dr. King to continue the sacrificial rôle. We feel that the *HAHR* is still in good hands.

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*The William and Mary Quarterly* for April 1945 contains "Sex Composition and Correlated Culture Patterns of Colonial America," by Herbert Moller. The first part is devoted to statistics on the numbers of males and females arriving and surviving in the American, that is, English colonies, to 1790. Owing to the paucity of the records, the author concludes that the differential sex composition will never be exactly known, but apparently from 1620 to 1770 there were always more men than women among the free whites. The social consequences of disproportion are grouped under four headings, namely, the results of the shortage of brides, racial miscegenation, family mores, and women and religion in the colonies.

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The Presidential Address delivered by Dr. Paul Kiniery before the members of the American Catholic Historical Association on December 28, 1944, appears in *The Catholic Historical Review* for January 1945. It deals with the question: "Will History Repeat?" in the peace conference to come. Other papers read at the meeting are published in the July number: "Americanism, Fact and Fiction," by Thomas T. McAvoy, and "A Myth in 'L'Américanisme'," by Vincent F. Holden, and were part of a symposium on the very difficult subject of Americanism and the papal attitude toward it. Under the heading of Miscellany goes the paper of Joseph P. Ryan, "American Contributions to the Catholic Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century."

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Attention may well be called to an article which appeared in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March 1945. It is the report of a learned committee on "Projects in American History and Culture." In this report the committee makes suggestions regarding fields of American history that need study, fields for research and writing. Among the suggestions is this, that the first rate graduate student should "be permitted to write his dissertation upon some subject which will train and tax his powers of interpre-

tation, of 'synthesis'." Apparently, strange compilations are passing as dissertations in some schools. Possibly the committee is referring to some of the overgrown Master of Arts theses which assume doctoral dissertation proportions when sufficiently padded. Be this as it may, the professors directing research can obtain useful suggestions from the article. The committee then suggests for study projects of high significance and priority, such as: Candid Resurveys of the Public Domain, Agriculture and Soils Erosion, Conservation of Natural Resources, The American Mind and Machines, Improvableness of the American Mind, Ethnic and Minority Groups, Religion and Secularization, Mining Industries, Transportation, Wit, Humor, Folklore, Political History, The Great Plains, Lumbering, Cultural and Social Life, and The American City. We pray that the events of the past six years and their forerunners do not crowd these suggestions out of the minds of the coming generation of students of history in the dawning era of atomic energy.

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*The North Carolina Historical Review* for April 1945 has an interesting continuation of the story of Alfred Mordecai. In the January number of this quarterly James A. Padgett edited "The Life of Alfred Mordecai as Related by Himself." This gave an ample account of the career of the Jewish West Pointer and Army officer from North Carolina who lost his fortune in the Confederate cause during the Civil War. The continuation by Mr. Padgett is "Life of Alfred Mordecai in Mexico in 1865-1866, as Told in his Letters to his Family." These letters copiously annotated describe the work of Mordecai as assistant engineer of the Imperial Mexican Railway during the colorful period of Mexican history known as "The French Interlude." The originals are in the Library of Congress.

More general in scope but on the same general topic of Confederates in Mexico is Carl Coke Rister's "Carlota, A Confederate Colony in Mexico," which appeared in the February 1945 *Journal of Southern History*. The leader of the *émigrés* and prime mover in the plan to bring southerners to the Empire of Maximilian was Matthew F. Maury. Establishing themselves at Carlota the colonists began the production of sugar and coffee, but one by one became disheartened and ill and turned their steps homeward.

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Of wider interest is "Ante-Bellum Attempts of Northern Business Interests to 'Redeem' the Upper South," by George W. Smith, which

appeared in the May 1945 number of *The Journal of Southern History*. From the findings about the business interests in the North and their war propaganda it would appear that the Civil "War itself was but another mode of fulfilling imperialist ambitions in the Old Dominion" (p. 213).

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*The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for August 1945 proudly places on its cover the picture of General Eisenhower and in its opening pages publishes an illustrated article entitled "General Eisenhower of Kansas." This contains excerpts from recent speeches of the General of the Armies. His native city, about which he said: "the proudest thing I can claim is that I am from Abilene," is now planning a shrine to his memory.

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*The Americas*, A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History continues to be published by the Academy of American Franciscan History, established last year in Washington, D. C. Generally a variety of cultural articles appear. In the January 1945 number, for instance, we find: "The Soul of Spain," by David Rubio; "The Sons of St. Francis in Texas," by Carlos E. Castañeda; "García Moreno of Ecuador," by Sister Mary Loyola; two articles on the political situation in Cuba; "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America," by Marion A. Habig; and "Some Remarks on the Term 'Aztec Empire'," by R. H. Barlow. Thus a wide variety of interests is touched. Most useful to scholars who frequently become confused in their terminology about the Franciscan provincial organization, were the articles by Father Habig.

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*The Pacific Historical Review* for March 1945 has among its excellent articles "Early Japanese Isolationism," by Gustav Voss, S.J., which describes the early Spanish and Portuguese contacts with Japan and gives the reasons why the Japanese considered the Christian religion as an evil. Another illuminating paper is that of Walter Kirchner, "The Duke of Alba Reconsidered." While this does not whitewash the activities of the Duke in the Low Countries, it does consider the possibilities of a re-evaluation of his life as a whole, to supplant the common evaluation of his achievements from his few years of control in the Netherlands.



In the March 1945 number of *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* there can be found the annual record of all of the important events happening in Illinois during the year 1944. This calendar, "Illinois in 1944," is arranged by Mildred Eversole. A new feature begins in this same issue. It is headed The Illinois Bookshelf, and consists of a review of some significant book of the past. In this instance the selection is Thomas Ford's *A History of Illinois*, published in 1854.

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"Michigan and the Great Lakes Upon the Map, 1636-1802," by Louis C. Karpinski, appears in the September 1945 number of *Michigan History*. It is an interesting and popular survey of the published maps of Michigan and of the cartographers of the Great Lakes.

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*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* in its July-September number for 1945 has "The Writing of History in Ohio, 1935-1945," by Francis P. Weisenburger. This is a supplement to the same author's "Half Century of the Writing of History in Ohio," which listed the historical writings in Ohio and by Ohioans to 1935.

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Articles of a general interest published in the *Report, 1943-1944*, of The Canadian Historical Association are: "Cartier visite la rivière Nicolet en 1535," by Gustave Lanctot, and "The Irish in Quebec," by Brother Memorian Sheehy.

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During the course of this year the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* published in Quebec is celebrating its golden jubilee. Founded in 1895 the *Bulletin* has made valuable contributions to history. The esteemed editor, historian and archivist, Pierre-Georges Roy, has received the tributes of the scholarly world on this occasion. MID-AMERICA wishes to add its felicitations and express its good wishes for the continuous success of the *Bulletin*.

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# INDEX

## MID-AMERICA

### VOLUME XXVII

#### INDEXER'S NOTE

*Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.*

- Abancourt, Marie d', 3, 4  
 Ailleboust, Nicolas, 200  
 Ailleboust, Pierre, Sieur d'Argenteuil d', 190, 200  
 Akansen, 37, 45-48, 224, 230  
*Album of American History*, Vol. II, noted, 262  
 Allouez, Father Claude, 12, 32  
 Alvord, Clarence, 51  
*American Historical Societies 1790-1860*, noted, 135  
 Anticosti Corporation, 82  
 Anticosti Island, 74, 76, 81-85, 89, 90, 93, 95  
 "Antoine Laumet, alias Cadillac. Commandant at Michilimackinac, 1694-1697." By Jean Delanglez. Part I, 108-132; Part II, 188-216; Part III, 232-256  
 Anza, Juan Bautista de, 140, 142, 153, 164, 173  
 Apache Indians, 153-154  
 Archivo General of Argentina, 54  
 Argenteuil, see Ailleboust  
 Argentina, archives in, 54-57  
*Argentine Riddle*, by Felix Weil, commented on, 136  
 Arisbe, medicine man, 169 ff.  
 Arizona, description of, 140 ff.  
 Arkansas R., 39, 41-43, 222  
 Arkansas village, 222  
*Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, contents noted, 135  
 Asunción, Paraguay, 54-56, 98 ff.  
*Austrian Aid to American Catholics 1830-1860*, by Benjamin Blied, revd., 59  
 Bailey, Charles, 84  
*Bandeirantes of Brazil*, 99  
 Bancroft, H. H., cited, 141  
 Basset, Bénigne, 24, 28, 29  
 Baye du Nord, see Hudson Bay, 93  
 Beckman, Peter, his *Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier 1850-1877*, revd., 59  
 Beausoleil, see Normandin  
 Becquet, Robert, 69  
 Bernou, Claude, 35, 73, 74, 226-231  
 Black Mountain, 169 ff.  
 Blied, Benjamin J., his *Austrian Aid to American Catholics*, revd., 59  
 Bingay, Malcom W., 108-109  
 Binneteau, Father Julien, 192, 195  
 Bischoff, William N., his *Jesuits in Old Oregon*, noted, 261  
 Bissot, Claire-Françoise, 69  
 Bissot, François, 79-80  
 Bissot, Jean-Baptiste, 200  
 Bishop of Petraea, see Laval  
 Boisseau, Josias, 82-89  
 Bradore Bay, 78-79  
 Brazil, 99, 101  
 Buenos Aires, 54-57, 97 ff.  
*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, jubilee noted, 267  
 Bourguignon, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, 33, 35  
 Burton Historical Collection, 108  
 Caborea, 164  
 Cadillac, 108-132, 188-216, 231-256, see Antoine Laumet  
 Cadillac, Mme., 249  
 Cairo, Ill., 49  
 California Indians, 151, 230  
 Calliers, 254  
 Campos, Father Agustín de, 155-156  
 Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Report*, noted, 267  
 Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 8-9

- Cape St. Charles, Canada, 67  
 Cardenas, Bishop Bernardo de, 55, 56  
 Catarocouy, 22  
*Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier*, by Peter Beckman, revd., 59  
*Catholic Historical Review*, contents noted, 264  
 Carheil, Father Étienne de, 112 ff., 189 ff.  
 Champigny, Jean Bochart de, 116 ff., 188, 198, 203, 214, 215, 235-237, 241-255  
 Charlevoix, Father Francis X. de, cited, 81  
 Charny, M., (Charles de Lauzon-Charny), 7  
 Chavigny, François de, 18, 21, 22, 24  
 Chartier de Lotbinière, René-Louis, 252  
 Chequamigon, 12  
 Chicago R., 41, 51, 221  
 Chickasaw Indians, 50  
 Chihuahua, 148  
 Chuquisaca, 99  
 Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 12 ff., 69 ff., 87, 219, 220, 230  
 Colbert R., 43  
 College of Quebec, 4  
 Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal, 35  
 Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, 79  
 Compagnie des Habitants, 78-79  
 Company of New France, 4  
 Company of Quebec, 232  
 Comporté, Philippe Gaultier de, 84, 87  
 Conestoga Indians, 10  
 Conte, M. de, 255  
 Copamaricopas Indians, 155  
 Copper Harbor, 33  
 Córdoba, Argentina, 102  
 Coronelli Map, discussed, 35  
 Council of State, 236-237  
 Courtemanche, Augustin le Gargeur de Tilly de, 118, 200  
 Crouse, N. M., 39, 49  
 Crespo, Bishop Benito, 140, 149, 153  
 Crittenden, Christopher, Ed., *Historical Societies in United States and Canada*, noted, 134  
 Cucurpe, 140, 142  
 Cuquiarachi, 153  
 Cusson, Jean, 19-20, n.  
 Dablon, Father Claude, 3, 12, 30-36, 39, 41, 45, 46, 50-51, 67, 70, 219-236, 230, 231  
 DELANGLEZ, JEAN, "Antoine Laumet, Alias Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697," Part I, 108-132; Part II, 188-216; Part III, 233-256; "Louis Jolliet—Early Years: 1645-1674," 3-29; "Louis Jolliet—Middle Years: 1674-1686," 67-96; "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," 30-53; "The Discovery of the Mississippi: Primary Sources," 219-232  
 Delisle, Claude, 50  
 Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de, 91, 94, 95, 114 ff., 210, 233-234  
 De Pere, Wisc., 34, 37, 111  
 Deshayes, Jean, 95, 96  
 Des Moines, Iowa, 40  
 Detroit, 16, 108 ff., 194, 206, 256  
*Detroit Free Press*, 108  
 Detroit R., 16  
 "Discovery of the Mississippi River," by Jean Delanglez, 219-232  
*Documents of the Christian Church*, noted, 263  
 Dodier, Jeanne, 19, 20, 24  
 Dollier de Casson, François, 9, 11  
 Dudouyt, Jean, 77, 86  
 Dubosc (Dubocq), Laurent, 194-195  
 Duchesneau, Jacques, 69 ff., 233  
 DUNNE, PETER M., "The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires," 54-57; "Visitor to Paraguay in 1714," 97-107; his *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico* revd., 62-63  
 Dupuis, 252, 254  
 Druillettes, Father Gabriel, 11  
 Durand, Louis, 249-255  
 Durantaye, see Morel  
 East Moran Bay, 110  
*Educational Forum*, contents noted, 135  
 Egg Island, Canada, 79  
 Ellis Bay, 90-91  
 English Bay, 90-91  
 Enjalran, Father Jean, 112  
 Erie, Lake, 10, 73, 221  
 Florida, 39, 53, 230  
 Folles Avoines R., 49  
 Fort Frontenac, 73, 220, 231, 246  
 Fort St. Joseph, 241-242, 244-247  
 Fort St. Louis, Illinois, 237  
 Fox Indians, 251  
 Fox R., 32, 37  
 Franquelin, Jean Baptiste Louis, 74, 89, 91, 94-96, 226-231  
 Frontenac, Louis de Baude, comte de Palluau et de, 22, 25, 45, 68 ff., 83-87, 115 ff., 191-214, 219; his letters to Colbert, 220-223, 230; and Cadillac, 233-254

- Gagnon, Ernest, 70, 71, 77, 89  
 Galinée, René François Bréhan de, 7 n., 9-11, 14, 16, 53  
 Garay, Juan de, 54  
 Garzias, Father Andrés X., 167  
 Georgian Bay, 231  
 Godard, Doris, Associate ed. of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*, 134  
 Gosselin, Amédée, 5-8  
 Grandmaison, Éléonore de, 24  
 Gravier, Father Jacques, 44, 48, 112  
 Grazhofer, Father John B., 140, 164  
 Green Bay, 23, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 52, 93  
 Gregorian chant, 144  
 Groseilliers, (Médard Chouart), 82  
 Guadiana, 148, 149  
 Guaraní Indians, 99 ff.  
 Guasi, 165  
 Guebavi, mission, 142, 143, 149, 150, 154, 164  
 Guide to the Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society, noted, 133  
 Guillot, Godefroy, 3, 4  
 Gulf of Mexico, 220-222, 224, 230  
 Hammond, George P., cited, 140  
 Harnisse, H., 95, 223  
*Historical Records and Studies*, vol. 34, noted, 262-263  
*History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, revd., 60-62  
*History of St. John's Seminary, Brighton*, noted, 261-262  
*Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*, noted, 134  
 History, Study of, articles on, noted, 134-136  
*Hispanic American Historical Review*, change of editors, noted, 263-264  
 Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec, 35  
 Hudson Bay, 67, 80-81, 84, 85, 214  
 Huron, Lake, 10, 12, 16, 17, 32, 34, 36, 230  
 Huron Indians, 199, 204, 209, 210, 213, 237, 255  
 Iberville, Pierre Le Moynes, sieur d', 50, 201, 210  
 Illinois Country, 73, 93-94, 237  
 Illinois Indians, 30, 198  
 Illinois R., 37, 40, 229  
 Iroquois 10-14, 114 ff., 125 ff., 199-204, 207, 210-214, 237-238, 244  
 Iskoutegas, 10  
 Isle Royale, 49  
 Austrian Aid to American Catholics, 59  
 Jesuits, (Society of Jesus), 4-6, 17, 72, 75, 77; and Cadillac, 125 ff., 189 ff.; Journal of, 4-5; missions, 111; in Paraguay, 54-57, 97-107; in Southwest, 139-187; and brandy trade, 238 ff.; map of Lake Superior, 31-34, 36  
 "Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires," by Peter M. Dunne, 54-57  
*Jesuits in Old Oregon*, by W. N. Bischoff, noted, 261  
*Jesuit Relations*, 52, 206, 215  
 Jolliet, Adrian, 8-9, 13-15, 18-20  
 Jolliet, Jean, children of, 3, 4, 8  
 Jolliet, Louis, 3-29, 30, 41, 45, 67-96; map of, 50, 219-232; his letter to Laval, 223-225; dedicatory letter, 225-228  
 Jolliet, Louis, son of explorer, 69  
 Jolliet, Zacharie, 23  
 Jolliet, Jehan, see Jean Jolliet  
*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, contents noted, 267  
*Journal of Southern History*, contents noted, 265, 266  
*Journal of the Jesuits*, 4, 5  
 Joutel, Henri, 43  
*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, contents noted, 266  
 Kappa, 43, 44, see Quapaw  
 Karpinski, L. C., 34, 263  
 Kaskaskia, 44  
 Keller, Father Ignatius, 140, 142, 164  
 Kellogg, Louise P., 30, 31  
 Keeweenaw Peninsula, 33  
 Kino, Father Eusebio Francisco, 140  
 Koenig, Harry C., revs. Beckman's *Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier*, 59; revs. Sr. Natalina's *Thomas Francis Meehan*, 58  
 La Barre, Joseph Antoine Lefebvre de, 116, 117, 229, 233, 239  
 Labrador, 67, 78, 94  
 Lac Frontenac, 74  
 La Chaise, Father de, 198  
 La Chesnaye, Charles Aubert de, 71, 79, 82, 84-87  
 Lachine massacre, 114  
 La Cruz, Argentina, 102, 103  
 La Forest, 238  
 Lagny, Jean Baptiste, 119, 121, 191, 198, 199, 201-206, 210, 211, 214, 240, 245, 246  
 Lagnos, Bartolomé de, 97  
 Lahontan, Armand Louis de l'Om Darce, baron de, 234, 256

JACOBSEN, JEROME V., Ed. Notes and Comments, 133-136, 261-267; revs.



- Lalande, Jacques de, 80, 82, 84, 86, 89  
 La Plata Province, 97-106  
 La Porte, Louis de, Sieur de Louvigny, 111, 115 ff.  
 La Potherie, C. C. Le Roy de Bacquerville de, 201, 209  
 Largillier, Jacques, 18, 21, 22, 24  
 Lariz, Don Jacinto de, 98-99  
 La Salle, Nicolas de, 42  
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de, 11, 42, 70 ff., 231  
 La Touche, Louis de, 243, 250, 253  
 Laumet, Antoine, see Cadillac  
 Laut, Agnes, cited, 188  
 Laval de Montigny, François de Montmorency, 4, 5, 6, 13, 41, 71, 86, 219, 222; Jolliet's letter to, 223-225, 230  
 Leber, Jacques, 69, 75  
 Le Clercq, Chrestien, 194  
 Le Mercier, Father François, 5  
 Le Moyne, Charles, 84  
 Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, 50  
*Lincoln Bibliography*, by Jay Monaghan, revd., 133  
 Lord, Sexton, Harrington, *History of Archdiocese of Boston*, revd., 60  
 Louis XIV, 79, 83, 87, 233, 235-238, 242, 246-247  
 Louisiana, 41, 42  
 "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," 3-29; "The Middle Years: 1674-1686," 67-96, by Jean Delanglez  
 Louvigny, see La Porte  
 Luzern, Switzerland, 144; college of, 139  
  
 MacCarthy Bay, 91  
 Marcel, Gabriel, 94  
 Marest, Father Joseph, 112  
 Margry, Pierre, 72, 77, 197, 240  
 Marquette, Father Jacques, 22, 75, 94; *Journal of*, 30 ff.  
 "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," by Jean Delanglez, 30-53  
 Martin, Father F., 35  
 Mascoutens Indians, 32, 37  
 Maugras, Jacques, 18  
 Menier, Gaston, 82  
 Menominee R., 37  
 Metchigamea, 37, 45, 48  
 METZGER, CHARLES H., revs. Lord, Sexton, Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, 60-62  
 Mexico City, 148  
 Michilimackinac, 23, 108-132, 188-216, 232-256  
 Michigan, Lake, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 73  
*Michigan History*, contents noted, 135, 267  
 Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 109  
 Mingan, Canada, 67, 79-80, 89, 91, 93  
 Missionary's daily routine, 159-164  
 Mississippi R., 3, 4, 11, 22; Marquette's map of, 30-53  
*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, contents noted, 135, 264-265  
 Missouri R., 40, 41, 51  
 Monaghan, Jay, *Lincoln Bibliography*, revd., 133  
 Monseignat, Charles, 207-208, 211-213  
 Mons8pelea, 50-52  
 Montézon, Father Fortuné, 35  
 Montezuma, Indian chief, 169 ff.  
 Montreal, 68-97 *passim*; 220-223, 231-235, 243, 244, 250  
 Moreau, Joseph, 249-255  
 Moreau, Pierre, 18, 21, 23  
 Morel, Olivier, (Sieur de la Durantaye), 111, 116  
 Moqui Indians, 154  
  
 Nantounagan R. (Ontaganon), 12, 34  
 Napoleon, 188-189  
 Natalina, Sister M., *Thomas Francis Meehan*, revd., 58  
 Natchez Indians, 50  
 Newfoundland, 93  
 New Spain, 139 ff.  
 New York, 202  
 Niagara Falls, 10, 221  
 Nipigon, Lake, 12  
 Nipissing, Lake, 231  
 Nóbrega, Father Manuel da, 55  
 Nogales, Mexico, 140  
 Norman, Pierre, 72  
 Normandin, Mathurin, dit Beausoleil, 20, 23-26, 29  
*North Carolina Historical Review*, contents noted, 265  
 NOTES AND COMMENT, 133-136, 261-267  
 Nouvel, Father Henri, 36  
  
 Ohio R., 40-41, 50  
*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, contents noted, 267  
 One Hundred Associates, 4, 79  
 Ontario, Lake, 9, 10, 16, 73, 220, 221  
 Ontoganon R., 12, 34  
 Opata Indians, 153  
 Ottawa, 9, 10  
 Ottawa Indians, 209, 210, 213, 237, 241, 245, 249, 255  
 Ottawa missions, 34

- Ottawa R., 11, 188, 231  
(Outagami) Stagami, 37
- Pacific Historical Review*, contents noted, 135, 266
- Pacific Ocean, 222, 223
- Palafox de Mendoza, Bishop, 56
- Papagos, Indians, 150-151
- Paraguay, 97-107; Reductions of, 54-57, 97-107
- Paraguay R., 100
- Paraná R., 100-106
- Paris, Jolliet in, 7
- Parkman, Francis, 77
- Patoulet, J.-B., 13-14
- Patronato Real, 105
- Pedro II, of Brazil, 55
- Peoria tribe, 37
- Péré-Jolliet expedition, 16-17
- Péré, Sieur Jean, 13-14, 16-17
- Perrot, Nicolas, 19, 20, 220
- Phéliepeaux, Louis, Count of Pontchartrain, see Pontchartrain
- Philip V, of Spain, 140
- Pima Indians, 140-187; customs of, 142-165; revolt of, 165-177, 257-60
- Pimería, Alta and Baja, 140-187; animals, 186-187; customs, 142-159; flora, crops, 179-182; livestock, 184-186; metals, mining, 183-184; revolt in, 165-177; seasons, travel, 182-183; animal kingdom, 257-259; astronomical observations in, 259-260
- Pinet, Father Pierre-François, 112, 131, 189-193
- Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*, by Peter M. Dunne, revd., 62-63
- Plattier, Jean, 21-25
- Point Sable, Wisc., 34, 37
- Pontchartrain, Count of, Louis Phéliepeaux, 119 ff., 130, 198, 200-205, 208, 211, 213, 214, 232, 236-247, 254
- Portage, Wisc., 40
- Potawatomi, 10
- P8te8tami, 37
- POWELL, PHILIP W., revs. Dunne's *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*, 62
- Prairie du Chien, Wisc., 40, 230
- Puebla, Mexico, 148
- Quawpaw village, 42 ff.
- Quebec, 4, 33, 67-96 *passim*; 219-223, 229, 230, 232, 235, 242-249, 252, 255
- Quebec, Province of, 3
- Rada, Father Andrés de, 98-99
- Radisson, Pierre E., 94
- Rageot, Gilles, 24, 92
- Randin, Hugues, 94
- Récit, of Dablon, 39, 45 ff., 220
- Recueil, of Thévenot, 94
- Reductions of Paraguay, 97-107
- "Relation of Philip Segesser," tr. and ed. by Theodore E. Treutlein, 139-187; 257-260
- Riley, Arthur J., *History of St. John's Seminary*, noted, 261-262
- Rio de la Concepcion, (see Mississippi), 38 ff., 51
- Rio de Janeiro, archives in, 55
- Rio Paraná, 55
- Roca, Father Luis de la, 57, 97 ff.
- Rochemonteix, Camille de, 197-201
- Roque González, Blessed, 55
- Rosas, Juan Manuel de, Argentine dictator, 55
- Rouer de Villeray, Louis, 69, 70, 92, 198
- Roy, J.-E., 69
- Roy, P.-G., 17, 86
- Ruette d'Auteuill, François M., 130-131, 198
- Rupert R., 80, 84
- Russia, 188-189
- Saguenay country, 78-79
- Saguenay R., 11
- San Ignacio Mission, 155
- San Javier del Bac, 140, 142, 146, 156, 158, 164
- San Martin, General, 102
- San Miguel, Argentina, 54-56, 97, 106
- Sanson-Jaillet map, 53
- Sanson, Nicolas, 52, 53
- Santa Fe, Argentina, 56
- Santiago del Estero, 101, 105
- Sault Ste Marie, 9, 17, 20, 23, 32, 49, 52, 68, 111, 219, 221, 222, 231
- Sayas, Juan Luis de, 56
- Sea of California, 68, 221, 223
- Sea of the South, 16, 68, 220, 223
- Sedelmeir, Father J., 164
- Segesser, Philip, 139-187; 257-260
- Seignelay, Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de, 92, 120
- Séminaire of Quebec (Laval Univ.), 6
- Seris Indians, 154
- Seven Islands, Canada, 79-80, 82, 85-87
- Sexton, John E., *History of Archdiocese of Boston*, revd., 60; *History of St. John's Seminary*, 261-262 noted,
- Shawnee, 10
- Shea, John Gilmary, 35-36
- Sillery, 224
- Siouan Indians, 42

- Sioux Indians, 251-252  
 Smith, Alice E., *Guide to Manuscripts of the Wisc. Hist'l Soc.*, noted, 133  
*Social Studies*, contents noted, 135  
 Sonoita, 150, 158  
 Sonora, 177; missions of, 140 ff.  
*South Atlantic Quarterly*, contents noted, 263  
*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, contents noted, 135  
 Sovereign Council, 21, 24, 68, 85, 89, 243-244, 251-252  
 Sparks, Jared, 31  
 St. Clair, Lake, 10, 16  
 Steck, Francis B., 36, 77, 94  
 St. Francis R., 41, 44  
 St. Francis Xavier Mission, 34, 37  
 St. Joseph R., Michigan, 246  
 Stiger, Father Kaspar, 140, 156-157  
 St. Ignace, 31, 49, 111  
 St. Lawrence, Gulf of, 76, 92, 96  
 St. Lawrence R., 13, 64, 94, 95, 221, 224  
 St. Lussou, Simon Francois Daumont, Sieur de, 16, 17, 20, 34  
 St. Simon Mission, 34  
 Sulpicians, 10-11, 203-204  
 Superior, Lake, 10, 12, 13, 16, 31-36, 38, 39, 49, 205, 207, 221  
 Switzerland, 139-141  
  
 Tadoussac, 78-82, 84, 87  
 Taensa village, 42, 48, 50  
 Talon, Jean, 5, 6, 12-17, 68, 70, 220  
 Tecoripa, 143-144, 165, 172, 177  
*The Americas*, contents noted, 266  
 Thévenot, Melchissédech, 30, 31, 94  
*Thomas Francis Meehan*. By Sister M. Natalena Farrelly, revd., 58  
  
 Three Rivers, 14  
 Thwaites, R. G., 36  
 Tiberge, Jean, 23, 24  
 Tinawatawa, 9, 11  
 Tonti, Alphonse, 243, 254  
 Tonti, Henri, 42, 43, 198, 201, 214, 245  
 Torres, Father Diego de, 98  
 TREUTLEIN, THEODORE E., "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 139-187; 257-260  
 Tubutama, 164  
 Tucumán, 101  
  
 Uruguay, 101  
  
 Vâth, Father Alfons, 141  
 Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud de, 255  
 Vermillion Sea, 221, 222, 230  
 Villeray, see Rouer de Villeray  
 Vimont, Father Barthélmy, 4  
 "Visitor to Paraguay 1714," by Peter M. Dunne, 97-107  
  
 Weil, Felix J., *Argentine Riddle*, noted, 136  
 Weld, L. G., 30, 31  
 West Indies Company, 232  
 White River, 41, 43, 44, 51  
*William and Mary Quarterly*, contents noted, 264  
 Winnebagoes, 93  
 Wisconsin R., 39, 40  
 Wolf R., Wisc., 37  
  
 Yapeyú, 101-102, 105  
 Ysleta, Texas, archives, 55  
  
 Zoar, Canada, 67

